Journal of Administration Overseas

VOLUME XIV/NUMBER 2/APRIL 1975

Price 45p quarterly net; annual subscription including postage £2.08

INCLUDING

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Published for the Ministry of Overseas Development
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

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Journal of Administration Overseas

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Editor's Notes

"And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow . . . where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind . . . than the whole race of politicians put together."

JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745)

THE stark realities of urban and rural population growth throughout Asia, and in Africa, too, can present the governments of all too many countries of the Third World with the grim spectre of famine should the rains fall or should they fall with disastrous intensity. The "Green Revolution" cannot prevail against the severest drought or the most ravaging of floods and yet increased agricultural productivity is a prerequisite to man's survival, let alone his economic and social development. To this end, "integrated rural development" has become the current catch-phrase to indicate government policy for an all-out inter-departmental co-ordinated effort to improve the lot of the rural poor, and to achieve national self-sufficiency in food production.

Along this hopeful road, Malaysia has progressed further, and achieved a greater measure of prosperity since independence, than many of her neighbours. With a great deal of direction from the centre, Co-operatives and Farmers' Associations have been stimulated to hasten on the development process. In this Number, L. J. Fredericks examines the rivalries that arose between these two movements, and how the Government of Malaysia evolved the Farmers' Organisation Authority to rationalise within one Ministry their common purpose of helping the nation's farming industry. Much tact, skill and wise leadership, as he makes clear, will be needed to prevent the erstwhile internecine conflict from being renewed.

In Pakistan, laws have been passed to allow popular participation at local level so as to help make rural development effective but their implementation is awaited. B. J. J. Stubbings explains both the scope of the legislation and the manner in which he thinks the government of Pakistan should make it genuinely democratic and effective in action.

Whereas decentralisation to local authorities has the blessing of government in Pakistan (albeit the call to action is still awaited), Barbados, after 300 years of Elizabethan-style autonomous local vestries, has abolished local government altogether. Dr. Paul Singh explains how difficult it is on a small island to maintain two tiers of viable government. The choice lies between functional efficiency under central control or slower, less efficient and more expensive management in the hands of locally-elected Councils. For a small nation composed of a group of islands the case for a local government system for the out-islands is much stronger than it is for the island in which the central government itself is based. But for single island states, such as Barbados, a local Council system once lost, may well be lost for good, even if the urban residents of Bridgetown should one day claim the same municipal rights as other West Indian townsfolk.

Finally, Dr. Obibuaku sees a great future for Nigerian agriculture if the extension service at grass-roots level can be adequately staffed and trained. His clear and cogently argued case is that farm services can be supplied from the private sector; that what the knowledgeable if illiterate farmer needs is sound advice which he can implement on his land; and education in improved farming methods from extension officers in the field who really know what needs to be done and whose training has included a wide range of "rural integration" subjects.

The Farmers' Organisation Authority in Malaysia*

By L. J. FREDERICKS

Dr. Fredericks is a lecturer in the Department of Economics and Administration at the University of Malaysia.

THE Farmers' Organisation Authority (FOA)[1] was recently created as the administrative apparatus to provide the collaborative links between the twin institutional infrastructures – the agricultural co-operatives and farmers' associations – serving the Malaysian farmer. This unique body is the result of a long and convoluted process of policy formulation particularly in the old Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives[2]. This paper attempts an analysis of this policy formulation process, and touches on some of the dangers of basing policies on the short-term planning horizon of politicians in high office. A third objective is to present the administrative structure and rationale of the F.O.A.

The Agro-based Co-operatives

The agro-based co-operative societies are those farmers' institutions registered under the relevant co-operative laws and "whose principal objects or main functions concern agricultural production, agricultural credit, marketing or processing or any such commercial and trading ventures."[3] Although rural co-operatives have a relatively long history[4] and, more significantly, constituted the first formal institutions in the farming sector, they only gained a maximum extension – geographically and in the performance of diverse economic functions – over the years 1955-63.

This period was politically significant to the momentum of agricultural development in the Malaysian Peninsular for several reasons. In the first place, it marked the era of internal self-government coinciding with the first federal elections in 1955 culminating in political independence two years later. With these political developments, nationalistic aspirations converged upon a strategy to rectify the urban – and plantation-bias in colonial economic development planning. Resources were to be concentrated in the rural

*The writer is indebted to the Director-General of the Farmers' Organisation Authority, the Director-General of the Co-operative Development Division, Tuan Syed Kamarulzaman bin Syed Bahaldin and Encik Abdullah Ujang of the F.O.A. for their comments and clarification on an earlier draft of this paper. The usual disclaimers apply.

[1]Created under the *Farmers' Organisation Authority Act* 1973, *Act* 110 *of the Laws of Malaysia.*

[2]Subsequently termed the Ministry of Agriculture and Land and now the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

[3]*Farmers' Organisation Act, Act* 109, *Laws of Malaysia, Part* 1(2).

[4]The first rural society – a credit co-operative – was established in the Krian rice bowl in 1921, prior to the promulgation of the Co-operative Societies Act of 1922.

smallholding sector including the totally-neglected fishing sector. Thirdly, the mode of rural development consolidated a post-war trend placing an obligation upon the British colonial government to utilise Malayan resources for Malayan development[5] and emphasised, at least in the rural sector, the co-operative strategy[6]. Thus co-operation was perceived as a viable socio-economic structural framework linking grass-roots initiatives to the processes of rural development.

The co-operative strategy adopted by the national government reflected a reaction to the *laissez-faire* colonial philosophy, a desire to decentralise the government apparatus and a policy to disseminate the rudiments of democracy to a rural populace operating within a semi-feudalistic social system. Between 1955-63, i.e., the period of the First Malaya Plan and part of the Second Malaya Plan, co-operation provided the socio-economic under-pinnings to the rural economic development plan. Unfortunately, while the conceptual framework was provided by the I.B.R.D.[7] and the personal involvement of the first Minister of Agriculture, the planning, implementation and phasing of financial resources to co-operative projects reflected a more *ad hoc* character.

By 1955, a $5 million allocation was earmarked for a revolving fund operated by the Co-operative Apex Bank[8] to meet the seasonal credit needs of rice farmers. In three areas[9], the State Governments assisted in the new strategy by granting monopolistic powers to the marketing co-operative unions.

By 1960, the rationale in rural development planning was beginning to evolve. The strategy was to base rural development on a network of inter-linked mono-functional primary co-operatives to duplicate the multilateral marketing-merchandising-money-lending strategy imputed to the rural middlemen. In effect, the co-operative link-up scheme provided the operational framework with which to attain the policy objective of the "co-operativisation" of the rural sector – a policy not publicly declared but nonetheless clearly intended. The link-up scheme was to be made complete by co-ordinating into it the role of rural consumer shops. The operational strategy in order to make tangible this attempt at an integrated rural development programme was neither spelled out nor implemented[10]. Various difficulties surfaced in the co-operative link-up strategy, with the result that

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[5]United Kingdom *Colonial Development and Welfare Act*, 1945.

[6]The Co-operative Movement in the Colonies *Despatches* dated 20 March, 1946 and 23 April, 1946 from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Colonial Governments, London, HMSO, 1946.

[7]International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Malaya*, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1955, especially pp 80-1.

[8]Now Bank Rakyat Malaysia.

[9]Sabak Bernam, Tanjong Karang and Malacca.

[10]Perhaps it is cogent to observe that despite the fact that the Minister of Agriculture was politically committed to the co-operative link-up strategy and that the institutions needing co-ordination were responsible to one Division responsible to the Minister, no serious attempt was made to integrate the various co-operative functions. Some useful lessons can probably be drawn from this experience for enthusiasts of the integrated rural development approach so much in vogue at present.

the political leadership that had forced the pace of co-operative development in the country over 1955-63 was lost. These difficulties included:

(1) Intra-cabinet conflict and political personalities at this high level.

(2) The irrational expectation that officials in the ministry long used to supervising co-operatives could overnight perform *de facto* rural development functions. It was, moreover, unrealistic to expect of the co-operative bureaucracy with its limited human resources the highly complex research[11], planning, implementation and executive functions required of a rural development administration..

(3) The hasty development of rural co-operatives which raised the serious possibility that ideological commitment and identification, the *sine qua non* of rural co-operatives in developing economies, was lacking.

With a new Minister taking office in 1963 a series of policy changes were initiated with regard to agricultural development planning and its administration. Insofar as the Division of Co-operative Development was concerned, a consolidation policy was prescribed, eventually evolving into the strategy of creating multi-purpose societies ("*serbaguna*") in a clear counter-strategy to the burgeoning farmers' associations. Basic organisational changes were effected within the co-operative bureaucracy to make it a more flexible administration.

Farmers' Associations

Farmers' associations were innocuously introduced into the agricultural sector under the Societies' Act as early as 1958 to undertake extension activities. The role originally defined for them was thus secondary to the input and marketing functions of co-operative societies, however, reflecting the disillusionment of the government in co-operative performance in rural development, and influenced by the highly-favourable impression created by the integrated development framework of the Taiwanese farmers' associations. In 1967, new Ministerial emphasis was placed on farmers' associations. Due to the legal restraints laid upon their development by the Societies' Act, the Farmers' Association Act was introduced whereby the Director of the Division of Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives was made Registrar of all farmers' and fishermen's associations having the following main objectives:[12]

(1) Operation of extension and training programmes for the advancement of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, home economics and rural youth;

(2) Promotion and establishment of demonstration farms and homes;

(3) Procurement, allocation and processing of farm supplies and daily necessities for farmers;

(4) Provision of marketing facilities for farm and livestock products;

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[11]It is relevant to mention in this context that the Division had to relax its entry qualification for Co-operative Officers from Higher School Certificate to Overseas School Certificate.

[12]*Farmers' Association Act*, 1967, *Part II*(5).

(5) Provision of warehousing and processing facilities;

(6) Provision of saving and credit facilities to farmers.

The Farmers' Association concept was conveniently and strategically linked to the "area development" programme of action defined by the Minister of National and Rural Development in April 1963. Thus farmers' associations were consciously nurtured in areas with a high growth potential "with a good infrastructural base and with a high potential for sustaining growth after take-off.[13]" The farmers' associations created in these areas (covering 5-10,000 acres with about 400-500 farmers) were integrated development units providing all the functions enumerated above in a total "input-package" administered by a general manager supported by officers responsible for extension, credit, supplies, marketing and administration.[14] As the Director of the Division of Agriculture was the functionary responsible for farmers' associations, the Division of Agriculture bureaucracy with its well-developed geographical and organisational links formed the important supporting administrative framework for these associations. In reality, a Farmers' Association Branch was created in the Division of Agriculture.

Apart from these environmental advantages, farmers' associations were granted various exemptions closely paralleling the privileged status of co-operatives under the Co-operative Societies' Ordinance. Thus farmers' associations were exempted from paying stamp duties, or taxes on profits, and were exempted from the relevant section of the Trade Union law and the Companies' Act.

It was more than obvious that what was being created in the agricultural sector was a dual, largely identical and competing institutional infrastructure through which development finance was to be provided and development strategies implemented. In areas where both farmers' associations and co-operatives operated, an astute farmer who was not confused by the government's intention in creating competing bureaucracies, could rationally base his strategy either on a comparison of returns from membership in either institution or express plural loyalties in order to maximise total benefits.

Separate bureaucracies under one Ministry were attached to the two institutional infrastructures. The inter-bureaucratic rivalry extended from the grass-roots level up to the Minister who in clearly favouring the farmers' associations served not so much to lessen the competitive pressures as to de-vitalise the official co-operative leadership. It is no surprise given this highly anomalous administrative structure, that Parliamentary discussion on the passage of the Farmers' Association Act pinpointed the potential for conflict between co-operatives and farmers' associations and even confrontation with the newly-created Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority.

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[13]Abdullah Ujang, Farmers' Association as an Institution for Integrated Rural Development, paper presented to the FAO/SIDA Symposium on Agricultural Institution for Integrated Rural Development, Rome, 1971. Reprinted in *Development Forum* 3 : 1 December, 1971, p 30.

[14]The general manager was usually a graduate of the College of Agriculture, while his supporting staff were Agricultural School graduates. The quality of trained staff contrasted with those assigned to the Division of Co-operative Development.

A formal resolution sponsored by the Co-operative Apex Bank was presented in Parliament requesting that the Act be reconsidered. In his reply, the Minister stressed the complementary role of farmers' associations in allowing for the organisation of farmers not involved in co-operative activities. In effect side-tracking the main issue while at the same time playing on popular political sentiment, it was stated:

> "Kita tidak boleh memikirkan masaalah pertubuhan tetapi yang kita mesti dan harus memikirkan ialah masaalah peladang-peladang dan petani-petani seumumnya."[15]

Against the Parliamentary avowal that co-operatives would not be placed in any disadvantageous position[16], a Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives directive dated March 1968 delineated the areas of responsibility of the two institutions by arrogating to the farmers' associations the supply of agricultural credit, inputs and the provision of primary marketing services.

Co-operatives were to undertake all other activities thus markedly reducing their previous operational scope. However, even the most vocal protagonists of farmers' associations realised that these institutions were not prepared to undertake their assigned functions. Under a directive of the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives Planning and Development Council of March 1970, co-operatives were temporarily re-delegated their functions under certain well-defined conditions thus effectively confirming the "poor relation" status of co-operatives:

(1) In areas where associations had been established, co-operatives were permitted to undertake those functions assigned to the former, provided no government loans were channelled to the latter;

(2) Where associations were not yet established, co-operatives could perform all activities and could, moreover, tap government credit facilities;

(3) Co-operatives could be appointed as agents for the distribution of fertilisers under the government fertiliser scheme where farmers' associations were not yet operating.

(4) In areas where Padi and Rice Marketing Boards operated, co-operatives could be issued licences to market padi irrespective of the existence of farmers' associations.

The stage was thus set for conflicts and rivalries extending from the grass-roots level upwards into the level of politicians. It was inevitable that counter-pressures by co-operatives acting outside the formal leadership structure would intensify the disharmony and recrimination. Under these circumstances and sensitively responding to the political impact on the rural vote, the F.O.A. was created to de-fuse a sensitive issue.

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[15]That is, we must not think of organisational problems but concern ourselves with the problems of the farmers in general. See, *Parliamentary Debates, March* 1967, *Col* 5706-49.

[16]*Ibid.*, Col. 5938.

Recent Institutional Developments

It is not unexpected given the duality of administrative structures responsible to one Minister that an inter-divisional feud should occur. It was particularly at the policy-planning level in the Ministry that this feud was focussed in respect of the allocation of resources. The complication of pressures from co-operative activities outside the ministry resulted in the Division of Co-operative Development being transferred in 1972 to the Ministry of National and Rural Development. Responsibility for the farmers' associations remained in the Ministry of Agriculture and Land. However, this administrative solution, far from resolving the policy disputes between co-operatives and farmers' associations, served only to widen the dispute to an inter-Ministry level[17]. In 1973, the dual institutional infrastructure was finally integrated into the newly-constituted Farmers' Organisation Authority[18].

The rationale in this "final" administrative solution was to transfer the responsibility for farmers' associations and for agro-based co-operatives from their separate ministries to the Office of the Prime Minister with a Deputy Minister in his department as the Authority's chairman. One can only surmise that this initiative was exerted in the conviction that a redirection of the development efforts to the farmer was imperative rather than the bureaucracies designed to serve him.

Recently, the death of the Deputy Minister caused a Cabinet reorganisation, one result of which was reassignment of the F.O.A. to the Ministry of Rural Economic Development (formerly the Ministry of National and Rural Development). The Deputy Chairman was elevated to the Chairman's position while the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries assumed the position of Deputy Chairman. The whole process

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[17]While the farmers' associations advanced their cause by working mainly through the Farmers' Association Branch in the Division of Agriculture, the co-operatives utilised ANGKASA (the National Front for Co-operative Development) to publicise their stand. At a Co-operative Seminar organised by the Selangor branch of ANGKASA, a dialogue session was held with the Director-General of the F.O.A. The Seminar decided on resolutions to postpone the implementation of the Act; to place both farmers' associations and co-operative societies under one Ministry; to seek a clear delineation of control in the field of business activities between the two organisations; to allow the registration of co-operatives in the usual manner and sanction a more comprehensive functional operation; that government finance be provided to co-operative projects; that the F.O.A. was not to be given authority over co-operatives in order to allow for the propagation of co-operation; that the F.A.O. was to facilitate the operations of farmers' associations in the direction of extension services while co-operatives were to be assigned all economic functions; that any resources provided to the farmers' associations were to be supplied to co-operatives; that in areas where co-operatives existed, farmers' associations should not be allowed to operate, and finally that the F.O.A. should provide aid to weak co-operatives.

The Seminar was rather vocal in its resolutions which themselves indicate the intensity of conflict with the creation of the F.O.A. and the farmers' associations. It is significant to observe that several of the resolutions have been or are in the process of being implemented.

See, *Berita Bank Rakyat*, August 1973, p 3.

[18]As at August 1973, 102 area farmers' associations have been established throughout Malaysia with a membership of 100,000 and total assets of $10 million. A National Farmers' Association has also been formed. A total of 1,785 agro-based co-operatives with a membership of 166,600 and $29 million assets was recorded at this date.

itself may well reflect a complex administrative strategy to reassign farmers' institutions to the ministry charged with rural development[19].

Farmers' Organisation Authority

Together with the Farmers' Organisation Authority Act was passed the Farmers' Organisation Act defining, *inter alia*, the form of the new farmers' institutions to supersede both the agro-based co-operatives and the farmers' associations. Under the Act, the three major functions of the F.O.A. are:

(*a*) to promote, stimulate, facilitate and undertake economic and social development of Farmers' Organisations;

(*b*) to register, control and supervise Farmers' Organisations and to provide for matters related thereto;

(*c*) to plan and undertake such agricultural development within a declared Farmers' Development Area; and

(*d*) to control and co-ordinate the performance of the aforesaid activities[20].

The act empowers the F.O.A. to undertake all aspects of agro-business in co-operation with other bodies[21], and, significantly, "to request departments, governmental and non-governmental agencies in carrying out or intending to carry out agro-based development for the benefit of farmers to submit report (*sic*) regarding their activities or proposed activities . . . and to co-operate with the Authority in its efforts to develop Farmers' Organisations"[22].

For convenience the significant sections of the Act can be discussed under three main heads: statutory powers, administration and co-ordination. An identification of the major problem areas of the F.O.A. is also included.

Statutory Powers

The existing statutory powers vested in the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in respect of the agro-based co-operatives and the Registrar of Farmers' Associations in respect to farmers' associations (fishermen are excluded) have under the Farmers' Organisation Authority Act been transferred to the F.O.A. Its Director-General will act as Registrar both under the Act itself and within the relevant sections of the Co-operative Societies' Ordinances of Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah and the Farmers' Association Act. Significantly, in anticipation of the definition of agro-based co-operatives, the F.O.A. Act is assigned a superior legal position with its decisions being final and not contestable in court[23].

These registering powers extend only to existing societies as under Part VI Section 32(a) and (b), no farmers' institutions (agro-based co-operative or farmers' association) can be registered after the creation of the F.O.A.[24]

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[19] See footnote 17.
[20] *F.O.A. Act, Part II Section* 4(1)(a)-(d).
[21] *Ibid.*, Section 2 (a)-(g).
[22] *Loc. cit.*
[23] F.O.A. Act, Part VI Section 34(a) and Part 1(2).
[24] At the time of writing there is reason to believe that an amendment to the F.O.A. Act will be presented in the Malaysian Parliament allowing for the registration only of co-operative societies. See footnote 17 for the significance of this concession.

This is tantamount to the repeal of the Farmers' Association Act; however, actual legislative repeal is not possible since the Director-General has responsibility for all existing farmers' associations and, besides, the indivisibility in the coverage of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance in regard to the geographical location of societies, precludes repeal.

Administration

Diagram I provides the organisational structure of the F.O.A. Under the Director-General, its executive officer, are four divisions. To the F.O.A. is linked the state administrations so as to provide for de-centralisation of its functions. The State F.O.'s are administered by the State Agricultural Officer with two assistant directors under him. One director is responsible for production, credit, agro-business, extension and accounts with divisional officers attached to each function. General administrative duties devolve upon the other director. (See Diagram II).

The organisational structure of the F.O.A., it is cogent to note in view of the discussion below, closely follows the structure of the farmers' associations in two respects. First, farmers' associations were also formed on an area basis (with unit members) centralising their operations at State level through the State Agricultural officer[25]. Secondly, the integrated approach of the farmers' associations is duplicated by F.O.'s in providing all the economic requirements of the farm as a going agro-business. The structure of the co-operative bureaucracy is different in that the official bureaucracy, while decentralised on a State level, does not have the formal relationship with co-operatives that the State Agricultural Officer has with his area farmers' associations.

Since it is axiomatic that it is the bureaucracy and its leadership which make up the organisation, particularly one in the process of being developed, there has been considerable pressure to mould the image of the F.O.A. either in the co-operative pattern or in the character of the farmers' associations. Various levels of the F.O.A. hierarchy reflect this conflict which in some instances, whether by accident or design, reflect a neat setting-off the two protagonistic groups.

In the case of the Authority itself, three members can be regarded as pro-co-operative, while three have had close associations with farmers' associations. It is significant that of these, the Chairman who is a Member of Parliament for an important rice-producing area is concurrently the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Rural Economic Development as well as the head of the National Farmers' Association. The Deputy Chairman is concurrently the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the administrative head (together with the third member, the Director-General of Agriculture) of the State Agricultural Officers who were formerly the bureaucratic heads of the State Farmers' Associations. Of the four remaining members, three are civil servants, including the Director-

[25]The State Agricultural Officer, supervising the technical aspects of agricultural development, is responsible at federal level to the Division of Agriculture, in which was included the Farmers' Association Branch.

General of the Authority. A Farmers' Advisory Council has also been created under the Act.

Among the Directors or divisional heads of the Authority, at least two are civil servants formerly attached to the co-operative and farmers' associations' bureaucracies respectively. The projected professional staff for the Authority is 1,300, consisting of at least 155 officers from the Co-operative Development Division and 300 from the Department of Agriculture[26]. Apart from the admixture in the training of the co-operative officers (generalist) and agricultural officers (specialist), the strength of the Authority will be determined by its ability to neutralise both the internal staff conflicts that are inevitable and also the external pressures which will be exerted on the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman and the Director-General. Their political and diplomatic skills and the personal political clout of the Minister of Rural Economic Development will determine the ability of the F.O.A. to perform its complex co-ordinating functions.

Co-ordination

Under the Farmers' Organisation Act, the core farmers' institution with which is to be merged both the agro-based co-operatives and the farmers' associations, is the F.O. The F.O. structure closely resembles the area farmers' associations in covering a designated Farmers' Development Area[27]. Two main points about the Area Farmers' Organisation (A.F.O.) need to be noted. In the first place, the A.F.O. is an integrated institution performing various functions which include the provision of: (1) extension services and training of farmers; (2) farm inputs and the supply of consumer items; (3) farm mechanisation services to farmers, and providing credit facilities and services to promote greater investment in agricultural and economic pursuits.

Secondly, one of the major functions of the F.O. is to co-ordinate and rationalise the activities of its designated agents, i.e. the agro-based co-operatives and farmers' associations. This could well be one of the major areas of conflict given that vested interests are consolidated in these two institutions. The problem of inter-institutional co-ordination and rationalisation at the area level will simultaneously reflect the intensity of the conflict at the level of the F.O.A. Some of the guidelines in the co-ordination and rationalisation function of the A.F.O. are as follows[28]:

(1) where overlapping functions are performed in an agricultural development area by both co-operatives and farmers' associations, the institution with the greater potential for success will exercise those functions with the second institution performing as its agent;

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[26] *The Sunday Times*, September 16, 1973, p 9.

[27] For a fuller treatment of this aspect, see Abdullah Ujang, *Pusat Kemajuan Pertanian dan Peranan Pertubuhan Peladang* (Agricultural Development Centre and the Role of the Farmers' Organisation) given at the Farmers' Seminar, Kuala Lumpur, 12-13 August 1973.

[28] Syed Kamarulzaman b. Syed Bahaldin, *Penyatuan Persatuan-Persatuan Peladang dengan Syarikat-Syarikat Kerjasama Berasaskan Pertanian* (The Unification of Farmers' Associations and Agro-based Co-operatives), paper presented at the Seminar mentioned in footnote 27.

(2) in cases where a function is performed by one institution only, the other should facilitate its performance by acting as an agent or branch of the former;

(3) where a new function needs to be operated in an area, the two institutions should co-operate (*berpakat*) to carry it out jointly or the F.O. can undertake the function alone. If neither of these conditions are practicable, then the activity should be postponed until a more agreeable climate is created;

(4) in areas where several co-operatives operate a similar function, e.g. rice marketing, their exclusive performance of this function should be co-ordinated;

(5) for credit activities, the F.O.A. is to process all applications for credit from all sources except for credit that is supplied through Bank Rakyat;

(6) bulk purchasing is to be undertaken centrally by the F.O.A.

The policy guidelines suggested by the F.O.A. would appear to facilitate a functional distribution of activities between co-operatives and farmers' associations. Without indulging in any introspection, it is clear that the guidelines (particularly 1-3) could be implemented without friction *only* if it is patently demonstrable that one institution is more efficient than the other and equally rarely, when the leadership of the two institutions overlaps.

It is equally clear that, in the initial stages at least, the policy of co-ordination is to be resolved by a delineation of functional responsibilities rather than by actual collaboration as implied in guidelines. While the A.F.O.'s Board of Directors is responsible for this major problem in each agricultural development area, given the administrative complexities discussed above, the co-ordination problem is likely to be transposed from the field to the national level. Thus the F.O.A. will eventually have to resolve co-ordination or delineation problems at an area level rather than by issuing broad national policy directives.

The creation of the first A.F.O. in the Sabak Bernam district of Selangor should provide a good testing ground of the F.O.A.'s co-ordination policy. This area, a major rice producer, has been a traditional co-operative stronghold although the relatively new farmers' associations are apparently of equal strength. The area farmers' association building has now been converted to the A.F.O. and all the farmer institutions diplomatically designated *kooperatif peladang*[29].

In any A.F.O., two types of membership are allowed: individual members (who are not affiliated to any farmer institution) and member-units (co-operatives or farmers' associations). The apparent rationale in allowing the first category is two-fold: to provide an alternative to farmers unwilling to join co-operatives or farmers' associations, and gradually to create a membership group without affiliative links to existing institutions. The second reason

[29]Literally farmers' co-operative, a term generated by a judicious mixture of *sharikat kooperatif* (co-operative society) and *persatuan peladang* (farmers' association).

has been seen by the organised farmers as threatening their organisational integrity and the Director-General has agreed to present a modification of the membership clause from "shall" to "may be" a member of a farmers' organisation[30], thus allowing for some flexible control over its individual member group.

The rationalisation of functions is also being furthered by the integrated development approach whereby the F.O.A. becomes responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the multifarious agricultural development administrations. To facilitate this strategy, the A.F.O.'s will be based on selected Farmers' Development Areas in which will be created Agricultural Development Centres (A.D.C.). Thus, while the area for concentrated development is identical, the A.D.C. will provide the administrative infrastructure for co-ordinating all development efforts, including the A.F.O.'s. The F.O.A. is charged with the responsibility for establishing 150 A.D.C.'s throughout Malaysia which are to be "the focal point for a host of activities initiated or conducted in the farmers' interest", including the sale of farm inputs and equipment, distribution and sale of consumer supplies, tractor rental services, transport, processing and credit[31]. A.D.C.'s will be staffed by officers of the various agencies whose efforts are to be inter-linked, and it is stated that "where necessary, government departments and statutory bodies will assign their officers to provide special services in these agricultural development centres"[32].

It is proposed that the national co-ordinating function of the A.D.C.'s be undertaken by the I.C.D.A.U. (Implementation, Co-ordination and Development Administration Unit) in the Prime Minister's Department. The major development administrations identified for this process are the Division of Agriculture, National Padi and Rice Authority, Rural Industries Smallholders' Development Authority, Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority, Agricultural Bank, Bank Rakyat, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Economic Planning Unit and the Treasury. Thus the political will of the Government to make tangible its desire to project the F.O.A. as the premier policy instrument in dealing with the farmers, is clearly demonstrated.

The biggest problem in the A.D.C.'s is whether co-ordination can be achieved by their mere creation. Since a whole range of para-statal bodies, ministries and state development organisations are concerned with area development, an institution superseding all these organisations in political linkage to the Prime Minister is imperative. Although the I.C.D.A.U. theoretically can provide this significant linkage, it remains to be seen whether it has the clout to influence and shape a pattern of administrative collaboration.

An added complexity is the administrative authority of the A.D.C. over the staff of the development administrations which will physically be represented in it. In the first place, it has to be decided whether this staff will maintain line responsibilities to their mother organisations (as is probable)

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[30]Farmers' Organisation Act, *op. cit.*, Part IV Section 9(1).
[31]*Straits Times*, August 13, 1973.
[32]*Loc. cit.*

or staff responsibilities to the A.D.C. The co-ordination A.D.C. staff will probably reflect at the area or local level all the complexities of co-ordinating the agencies at the national level. The whole problem is exacerbated by the fact that the I.C.D.A.U. is not being given co-ordinating functions in respect of every one of the agencies involved in helping the farmer.

A third problem is that land is a State responsibility and the Federal Government can only persuade but cannot compel all the States to follow federal land policy. This implies that the designation of Farmers' Development Areas remains the prerogative of the State, or, in reality, the *Mentri Besar* or Chief Executive Officer of the State[33]. Certain States are said to be unwilling to designate Farmers' Development Areas, as to do so would imply tacit acceptance of Federal Authority (through the F.O.A.) over these areas[34]. Apparently a spill-over of this delicate relationship has been the refusal of some States to allow agricultural officers to be seconded or absorbed by the F.O.A.[35]

Before the inception of the F.O.A., two regions have been the object of intensive agricultural development. These are areas now under the Muda Agricultural Development Authority (M.A.D.A.) in Kedah-Perlis and the Kemubu Agricultral Development Authority (K.A.D.A.) in Kelantan. M.A.D.A. is by tacit agreement not to be developed by the F.O.A. While the future of K.A.D.A. is uncertain, one can readily visualise reluctance locally to authority being transferred to a Federal body.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to illustrate the dangers inherent in basing the policy-making process on the relatively short-term planning horizon of politicians in high office. The creation of the Farmers' Organisation Authority would thus appear to be an administratively rational strategy to consolidate economic and human resources for agricultural development.

The creation of a co-ordinating authority, however, does not ensure that co-ordination will actually be achieved. Two levels of co-ordination are required: integrating or delineating the economic activities of co-operatives and farmers' associations, and co-ordination of the various development agencies both at area level as well as at national level. The presence of regional authorities and the strong political position of the States *vis-a-vis* the Central Government serve to introduce complex dimensions into the problem.

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[33]The F.O.A. has thus deemed it necessary to explain to *Mentris Besar* its role in the various states. See *Straits Times*, September 10, 1973.

[34]As specified in the *F.O.A. Act Part II Section* 10(1) and (2), 10(1). For the purposes of this Act, the Minister may, after consultation with the State Government and such other public authority which in the opinion of the Minister will be affected by the declaration, declare by notification in the Gazette the area or areas within which the Authority may perform its functions under this Act and such area or areas shall be known as the Farmers' Development Area.

(2) Notwithstanding any other written law, it shall be the responsibility of the Authority to exercise the functions provided by this Act in the Farmers' Development Area.

[35]By the same token, problems can be anticipated in attempting to co-ordinate the State Economic Development Corporations (of which the *Mentri Besar* is normally Chairman) and State Agricultural Development Corporations under the F.O.A. in any Farmers' Development Area.

It has also been suggested that the F.O.A. will have to rise above the usual "control" image of bureaucracies to attain a facility to solve problems. A third and more complex issue is to stimulate farmers to perceive of the A.F.O.'s as their organisation and not one administered by the government or the traditional élite.

The resolution of these problems will hinge upon two significant factors. The F.O.A. will have to project a non-partisan and independent image. Secondly, it must be able to establish and maintain a political linkage to the central decision-making powers. It is only when these conditions are satisfied that it can be an effective bureaucracy to function in what is designed to be its highest goal – the development of Malaysia's farmers.

Diagram I

Organisational Structure of the Farmers' Organisation Authority

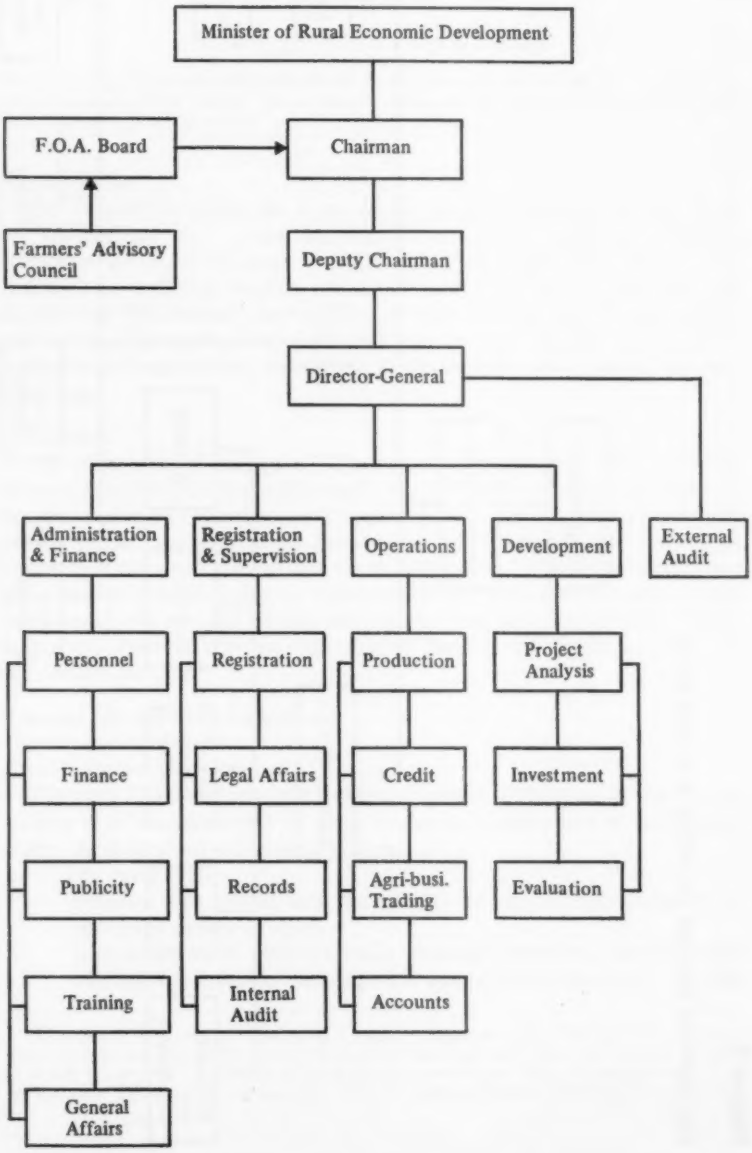
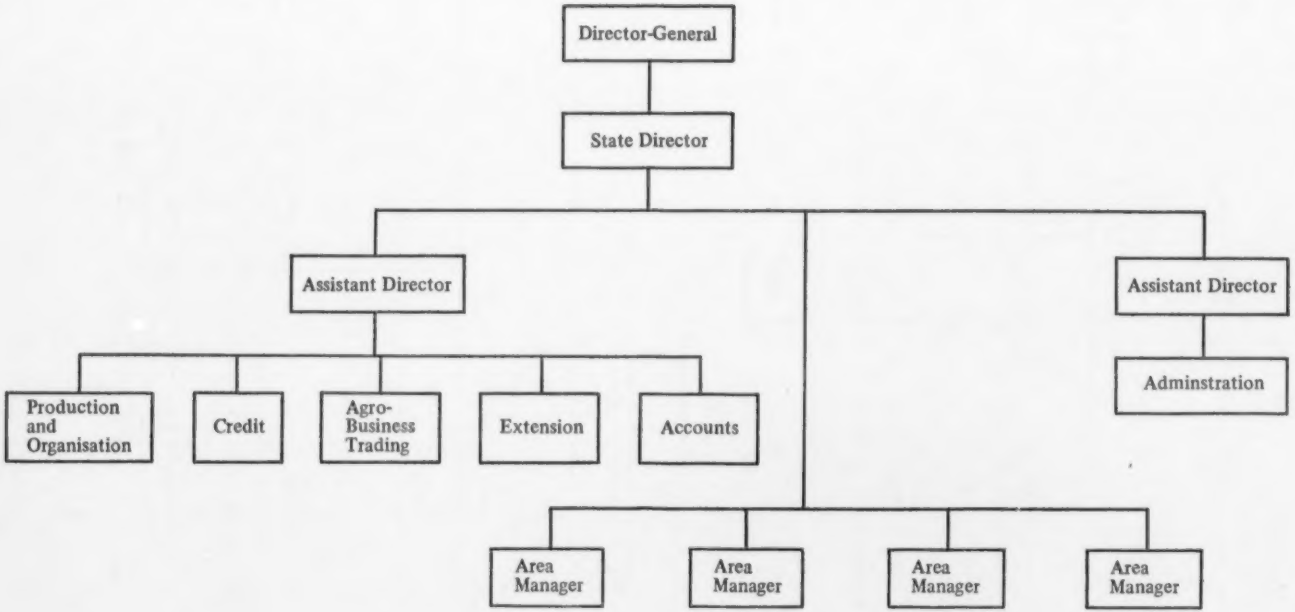


Diagram II

Organisational Structure of the F.O.A. at State Level



Integrated Rural Development in Pakistan

Administrative and Organisational Framework - Central and Local Government[1]

by B. J. J. STUBBINGS

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Introduction

It is impossible within the scope of one paper to describe in any detail the institutional and operational framework recommended for effective integrated rural development in Pakistan. This paper will therefore be restricted to outlining skeleton recommendations which, if acceptable, can readily have the necessary flesh applied to make them suitable for practicable application. The paper deals only with government and local government institutions. Co-operatives, marketing, credit, supplies, etc., warrant separate treatment.

Objectives

The objectives of Integrated Rural Development have been variously defined. Invariably an essential constituent of these definitions is the necessity for stimulating and securing popular participation; for lessening government of the people and increasing government by the people. The principal objective of the recommendations which follow is to devise an administrative and organisational framework – (government and local government) – which will provide for popular participation in the planning, organisation, implementation, co-ordination and control of all matters vital to the well-being of the rural population.

Present Situation in Pakistan

Government Institutions

THE CONSTITUTION

The 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the articles dealing with the promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils, makes three specially-relevant provisions:

"The State shall –

promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas,

enable people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods to participate

[1]This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the UNDP/FAO/Pakistan Government seminar on Integrated Rural Development at Lahore in November, 1973 at which the author led a team of international consultants. The views expressed here are his own. The seminar proceedings are to be published by the Pakistan Government.

fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan,
decentralise the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public[2]."

The following Article makes sundry provisions for the promotion of the social and economic well-being of the people. It is a mandatory function of the State, *inter alia*, to serve the well-being of the people by raising the standard of living, to ensure equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants, and to provide, within available resources, facilities for work and adequate livelihood with reasonable rest and leisure for all citizens[3].

Other articles[4] deal with the promotion and encouragement of local government institutions, and the discouragement of parochial prejudices.

These constitutional principles of policy are more than adequate foundations on which to build an operational framework for integrated rural development or what Edgar Owens[5] calls more simply "Development with Social Justice".

Federal Government

The National Assembly (Parliament) consists of members "elected by direct and free vote", while the majority of Senate members are elected from members of Provincial Assemblies who have previously also been elected to these assemblies by direct and free vote[6].

The extent of the Federal government's executive authority is set out, and includes the proviso that this authority will not, except where expressly provided by the Constitution, extend in any province to a matter with respect to which the Provincial Assembly also has legislative powers[7].

Part V of the Constitution deals with relations between Federation and Provinces including the distribution of legislative powers, administrative relations and certain special matters such as national water supplies, electricity, national gas, broadcasting, etc.

The importance of these relations, particularly in regard to the intention to decentralise the government administration, warrants quoting in full the Article dealing with the subject matter of Federal and Provincial laws.

"Subject to the Constitution –

(a) Parliament shall have exclusive power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Federal Legislative List;

(b) Parliament, and a Provincial Assembly also, shall have power to make laws with respect to any matter in the Concurrent Legislative List;

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[2] *Article* 37 (*a*), (*f*) *and* (*i*).
[3] *Article* 38.
[4] *Articles* 32 *and* 33.
[5] Speech, International Seminar of Economics Journalists, New Delhi, December 1972
[6] *Article* 59.
[7] *Article* 97.

(c) a Provincial Assembly shall, and Parliament shall not, have power to make laws with respect to any matter not enumerated in either the Federal Legislative List or the Concurrent Legislative List; and

(d) Parliament shall have exclusive power to make laws with respect to matters not enumerated in either of the Lists, for such areas in the Federation as are not included in any Province."[8]

Of immediate relevance to this paper is that rural development ("integrated" or otherwise), local government, agriculture and co-operatives are not on either list. Consequently, the Provincial Assemblies have power to make laws on these matters and Parliament is specifically excluded from doing so[9]. However, other matters affecting rural development, e.g. population planning, social welfare, the establishment of labour exchanges and training establishments are on the Concurrent List, and both Parliament and Provincial Assemblies can legislate thereon.

The distribution of revenues between the Federation and the Provinces[10] is to be dealt with by a National Finance Commission which makes recommendations to the President, who makes the appropriate order. The position of taxes on agricultural income is obscure. They are specifically excluded from the Federal list and are not on the Concurrent list.

The Provinces are heavily dependent on grants or other entitlements from the centre, particularly in Baluchistan, where only some 20 per cent of total tax revenue is derived from purely provincial sources.

The Federal Government is responsible for external affairs and is therefore also responsible for negotiations concerning international and bilateral aid programmes.

The Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Underdeveloped Areas has recently been renamed the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Rural Development. There is a small section in the ministry dealing with the Integrated Rural Development Programme.

Other aspects of rural development are dealt with in other ministries, e.g. finance, planning and development, health and social welfare, education and provincial co-ordination, labour and works.

In the booklet "Integrated Rural Development Programme – a Revolutionary Approach", published by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Under-developed Areas in March 1973, i.e. before the new constitution was passed, reference is made at page 24 to the centre's role. The statement is made there that the Ministry should play a predominant role in policy guidelines, follow-up action, co-ordination and evaluation. Mention is also made of the establishment of the Advisory Council for IRDP under the minister's chairmanship with membership drawn from central and provincial

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[8] *Article* 142. Clause (d) refers mainly to the Federally-administered tribal areas (Article 246).

[9] Determined efforts to get this changed, and have these matters on the Concurrent List, are being made by "centralists" who are strongly opposed by "provincialists".

[10] *Articles* 160-165.

officials, elected members, representatives from the private sector and from Chambers of Agriculture. The terms of reference of this Advisory Council are:

(i) to advise Government on all matters relating to IRDP;

(ii) to review the progress of IRDP in the four Provinces and prepare a quarterly report giving specific recommendations for improvement and

(iii) to provide a liaison between the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Underdeveloped Areas, the private sector and other national agencies concerned with rural development.

The Advisory Council has recently appointed an "Executive Committee".

Provincial Governments

Each province has a Provincial Assembly consisting of a prescribed number of directly-elected members.

The executive authority of Provincial Governments under the constitution extends to the matters with respect to which the Provincial Assembly has power to make laws. These matters have already been dealt with above, as have the limited financial and revenue-raising powers of Provincial Governments. All Provincial Governments have departments corresponding roughly with the ministries at federal level although the grouping of subjects differs. In dealing with rural development in general and the Integrated Rural Development Programme in particular, Provincial Governments have adopted differing organisational frameworks.

In the Punjab there is a Development Board with the Chief Minister as Chairman, the Minister of Food and Agriculture as Vice-chairman, and the Secretaries of the National Building Departments as members. The Director (the title has recently been altered to Director-General), IRDP, a senior officer in the Department of Food and Agriculture, is the Secretary of the Board. There are apparently no non-official members. The Board's functions are to co-ordinate, guide and evaluate the activities of the I.R.D. programme and "remove any bottlenecks created due to interdepartmental rivalries and jealousies".

In Sind, a new People's Rural Development Department has been established to administer the three programmes: I.R.D., People's Works and Agrovilles. A Provincial Development Board under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister and comprising people's representatives and the Secretaries of the National Building Departments has been set up. The main function of this Board is "to supervise and co-ordinate the activities of these programmes so that an integrated approach is evolved to achieve the purpose of rural development".

In Baluchistan, a Directorate of Local Government has been created in the Department of Education and Local Government, for the implementation of the I.R.D. Programme and to assist the Baluchistan Rural Development Board in "planning, training, executing, co-ordinating and evaluating the development programme of the Province". There is also provision for a Training Academy for all concerned with rural development, officials and non-officials.

In N.W.F.P. responsibility for implementing the I.R.D. Programme has been assigned to the Local Government Department which supervises, controls and guides the progress of projects. There is a Director-General, Rural Development who is directly responsible to the Local Government Department for the individual projects established at *Markaz* level, missing out the District level at this stage.

In Azad Kashmir (an extra-provincial area), there is in charge a Development Commissioner in the Planning and Development Department. Pending the establishment of local authorities the Deputy Commissioners are being made responsible for rural development.

Organisational Levels below the Province

In all Provinces a People's Local Government Ordinance was enacted in 1972. The main provisions of the ordinances are almost identical but there are some provincial differences in the functions and memberships of the People's Local Councils. The ordinances made provision for the establishment of Municipal Committees and Town Committees in addition to the People's District Councils. The District Council's authority extends over the area of a Revenue District. It is the only rural local authority and there is no provision for local authorities, subordinate or otherwise at levels below the District. The ordinance provides for a district council to consist of such number of elected members as may be prescribed, and makes provision for elections. No elections have as yet been held. Consequently, the ordinances are inoperative at least in so far as "People's Local Councils" are concerned. The functions of these councils are being undertaken, if at all, by government officials. The ordinances in any event contain anomalies which will be commented on below. In the Punjab, a Bill to amend the Local Government Ordinance was placed before the Provincial Assembly in October 1973. The bill did not command sufficient interest to ensure a quorum in the House and consequently had to be withdrawn.

In the absence of any statutory authorities *ad hoc* organisational arrangements have been made for the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme. These vary from Province to Province.

All, however, use the *Markaz* as the basic project unit for interdepartmental co-ordination and programme implementation. A *markaz* unit varies in size but is intermediate between village or group of villages (Primary Unit) and the district (cf. the "Block" in India).

In the Punjab a two-tier system has been evolved. A Farmers' or Co-operative association is to be established at each village which will be federated at the *markaz* level. Subsequently these may become "multi-purpose co-operatives" and finally "social co-operatives". Also at *markaz* level there is a Project Manager who has the task of organising agricultural improvement and rural development by co-ordinating the work of government departments, the Farmers' Associations or co-operatives, and the private sector. He has to act as Secretary of the *markaz* Farmers' Co-operative Association which serves also as a Market Committee to which the Project manager is adviser.

In Sind there are Co-ordination Committees at Primary Unit (several villages), *markaz* and District levels, operating within the framework of the People's Rural Development Board at provincial level. Each Committee consists of both official and non-official members. The chairmen of the committees at all levels are non-officials and the secretaries are appropriate officers of the I.R.D.P. staff. The chairmen at the primary unit level are elected directly, but those at *markaz* and district level are elected from the chairmen of the next lower level.

In Baluchistan the pattern is again three tiers – primary unit (*Deh* consisting of 5-10 villages) *markaz* (10-12 *deh*) and district. At the lower levels there are committees of officials and non-officials but at district level it is intended that the People's District Council (when established) will be the responsible authority although for the purposes of the I.R.D. Programme, the Assistant Director Local Government will act as Secretary/Chief Executive.

In NWFP it is the intention that (a) the people and their organisations (b) government departments (c) local government institutions (d) the private sector should be co-ordinated through appropriate institutional and organisational development at the village, *markaz*, district and provincial level. Initially, attention has been concentrated on the *markaz* level where officers of the national building departments are under the operational control of the Project Manager. The Project Managers in turn are each answerable to part-time Project Directors drawn from senior officers of different Provincial Government departments (including the Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar). Considerable emphasis is also being placed on the restructuring and organising of co-operative societies at village and *markaz* levels with appropriate vertical linkage between them.

The present situation in Pakistan has been described at some length because it is from experience gained on the ground that future plans can most effectively be drawn up.

Key Problem Areas

– There is an imperfect definition in practice of the respective roles of Federal and Provincial Governments in rural development.
– At federal level, responsibilities for rural development are diffuse resulting in differing interpretations of policy, e.g. co-operatives' role.
– At provincial level these responsibilities are allocated to different departments in the several provinces. Inter-departmental frictions and rivalries occur.
– As elections under the various provincial Local Government Ordinances have not yet been held, there is no effective local government to play its essential part in rural development and to provide popular participation therein.
– The Local Government Ordinances provide (in rural areas) for councils at District level only. There is no provision for lower tier councils, e.g. "*Markaz*" and "Primary". Consequently, the local authority when established will be remote from the scene of action.
– The absence of an effective local authority system leads to the establishment of different *ad hoc* systems for different development plans. This in

turn entails duplication of staff, building of bureaucratic empires which are jealously guarded, adds to the difficulties of integration and at the same time leads to disillusionment of the public and the politicians who see limited funds being largely consumed by administrative expenses.
- There is undue emphasis on "projects" and "programmes". These terms carry an inherent temporary connotation whereas rural development is a continuing process.
- The merits of decentralisation are not generally appreciated.
- Present financial provisions, including powers to raise their own revenue, would not suffice for District Councils, let alone lower-tier authorities.
- Training facilities are insufficient.
- Present local salary scales are neither attractive nor competitive.
- The allocation of the limited development funds raises the eternal problem of priorities. Should funds go to selected "development areas" or should they be spread thinly, possibly ineffectively over all districts? Because of this difficulty, funds are very often allocated on an *ad hoc* basis in response to pressure rather than in accordance with an integrated plan, previously agreed with local authorities.
- "Development" funds are spent with inadequate regard to the inevitable commitment of "recurrent" expenditure later.

Possible Courses of Action

The dreary recital of problems in the previous paragraph should not lead to despondency. The problems are there and several will continue over the years, but all are susceptible to at least partial if not complete solutions.

Alternative solutions should be examined in the light of the objectives set out above, and the constitutional principles of policy.

Any solutions should, therefore, meet the following essential criteria: (a) they should promote the interest of backward classes or areas, (b) they should enable full participation of the people, and (c) they should recognise the advantages to the public of a decentralised government administration.

Solutions involving a considerable degree of Federal and/or Provincial Government control and responsibility for execution could possibly meet the requirements of the first of the criteria. They clearly cannot meet either of the other two. Consequently solutions requiring Federal and/or Provincial Governments being involved in the day-to-day execution of rural development programmes will not be considered here. This is not to deny the inherent right of governments to lay down the broad outlines of policy and to insist that these policies are followed. Governmental influence is best exercised through (i) financial controls, e.g. general scrutiny of budgets, (ii) advice, particularly technical, at district level.

Solutions involving the use of Farmers' Associations or Co-operative Societies at primary level with "Federations" or "Unions" at the next level are *prima facie* attractive but they suffer from a fundamental disadvantage as a substitute for local government. Government at all levels must concern itself with the affairs of all the people. Farmers' Associations and Co-operatives are intrinsically voluntary associations for a specific purpose, usually economic, and do not necessarily include all or even the majority of

the people resident in an area. Consequently essential services such as health, roads, water supplies, education, etc., should be controlled and paid for by a body representative of all the people, e.g. a district council. Farmers' Associations and Co-operatives, if economically successful, will inevitably exercise a considerable influence in local affairs and there will probably be a number of persons serving on the local councils as well as on the boards or managing committees of the associations and co-operatives.

Recommended Course of Action

General. The following recommendations take into account as far as possible two apparently conflicting factors:

(i) the desire for and indeed necessity for some very early action and results;

(ii) the inescapable fact that reforms and improvements in rural areas cannot be hurried if they are to have lasting results.

Hopefully the conflict can be resolved by ensuring that recommendations dealing with the early future contribute to the results which the longer-term recommendations are designed to achieve.

Even more important is the distinction between "essential" and "desirable" improvements. The dividing line is narrow. Indeed, there is probably no readily recognisable distinction between lower priority "essentials" and higher priority "desirables". However, in the writer's view, a top-priority, essential pre-requisite to rural development is the re-establishment of local councils. Without an effective administrative organisation incorporating and associating federal, provincial and local governments, no real lasting progress will be made in improving the lot of the rural population as a whole.

The recommendations which follow are based on the assumption that the People's District Councils will be activated in the very near future. The essential first step is the holding of elections in accordance with Local Government Ordinances. These ordinances have some defects and disadvantages to which reference will be made. Nevertheless, they are adequate as a starting point.

This is not the place to analyse in detail the several reasons advanced for delaying these elections. It is sufficient to say that the absence of District Councils (and Municipal Councils and Town Committees) has created a vacuum. This is rapidly being filled by increased central and provincial bureaucratic influences and the interventions of politicians assuming executive authority. Vested interests are being built up which will make the task of local authorities unnecessarily difficult and will leave the plight of the general public unimproved.

Federal Level

The Federal Government is responsible for setting out the broad principles of its rural development policy. This is already covered in the Constitution. The compass of Integrated Rural Development is so wide that no one Ministry can possibly cover all its activities. Nevertheless, grouping of ministerial responsibilities should as far as possible reflect an appreciation of the more important features of rural development. These could then be

dealt with in a few ministries rather than diffusely spread over many. This will facilitate co-ordination. Whatever grouping is decided on, it is essential that the general concept of I.R.D. is understood and acted on in all Ministries at all levels, and that the ministry responsible for finance and planning is particularly imbued with the spirit of the concept. A possible combination which has proved useful elsewhere is:

(a) Finance and Planning
(b) Local Government and Administration
(c) Agricultural and Natural Resources (including Irrigation, Water Development, Co-operatives and Marketing)
(d) Social Services (including Health, Education and Labour)
(e) Public Works.

Once the concept of integrated rural development has been genuinely accepted as an essential part of government policy, there would not seem to be any necessity for an Advisory Council as at present constituted. In the meantime it has a useful "missionary" and "public relations" role amongst the ministries and departments. It should not go beyond its advisory role and should not give the impression that it can arrive at "decisions" which its "executive committee" can execute, for this is not the case.

As previously mentioned, government influence on the implementation of rural development programmes in accordance with its policies is best exercised through financial controls – albeit the necessity for action at Federal Government level in respect of such matters as procurement of fertilisers from abroad and for maintaining national statistics is appreciated.

Provincial Level

At this level, it is more important to concentrate departments dealing with rural development. Different methods are being tried in different provinces. If it is accepted that an effective local government system is essential, there is much to be said for putting the *co-ordinating* responsibility at provincial level on the department responsible for local government, with the Chief Minister as the arbiter. It is probable and desirable that the "Controlling Authority" under the Local Government Ordinance would be the minister responsible for local government affairs. It will be he who will have to sanction council budgets and bye-laws. It should be he who, on behalf of the provincial government, should see the rural picture in its broadest perspective. All provincial departments have a role in rural development. The suggestion that the "local government" department should be the co-ordinating department should not make it "senior" to others. The accompanying Chart illustrates this proposal very simply. The chart also illustrates two further proposals: (a) that the Deputy Commissioner should be answerable to the Minister in charge of Local Government and Administration, (b) the Deputy Commissioner should *co-ordinate* the activities of senior departmental staff posted to the district. These matters are dealt with later.

The role envisaged for the Provincial Government is to provide (i) the financial resources over and above those which can be raised by the local councils (ii) the technical expertise in the various activities which form an essential part of rural development, e.g. water, public works, education,

health, co-operative legislation and inspection, etc. Apart from occasions where the local council is unable for either financial or staffing reasons to provide facilities, the provincial government's activities should as far as possible be controlling and advising rather than executive. This admittedly is an ideal situation which cannot be easily arrived at in a short time. Nevertheless, provincial governments should not undertake work directly which can in fact be performed by local councils.

In the same way as at Federal level, where emphasis is on the role of the National Assembly, so at Provincial level the Provincial Assembly, and at district level the District Council are the "People's" institutions which are to be served by government departments and council staff.

District Level

Rural development at district level can best be achieved by a two-pronged approach:

(a) Under the chairmanship of the Deputy Commissioner, a District Team consisting of the senior members of all provincial departments who are represented in the district, and
(b) the district council itself.

The functions of these two bodies are different, but must be very closely related. The function of the District Team is (i) to assist and advise the district council on matters which are to be implemented by the district council (ii) to consult with the district council on matters which are to be implemented directly by government departments.

The role of the Deputy Commissioner calls for special mention. It is perfectly possible for him, while retaining those law and order functions for which he is presently responsible, to undertake additional and vital activities concerned with development. This calls for a very nice balance between his executive responsibilities for law and order and revenue collection and his advisory and tutelary functions in his relations with the district council. It would perhaps serve to underline this role if his title were to be changed to "(District) Development Commissioner". As has already been recommended, he should be directly responsible to the Minister for Local Government and Administration. It will be for that Minister to ensure that the Chief Minister is kept informed of law and order problems and that the Finance Minister is apprised of revenue collection matters.

The suggestion that the D.C. should be Chairman of the District Team does not indicate more than the necessity for there to be a co-ordinating officer who is capable of taking a broader than departmental view.

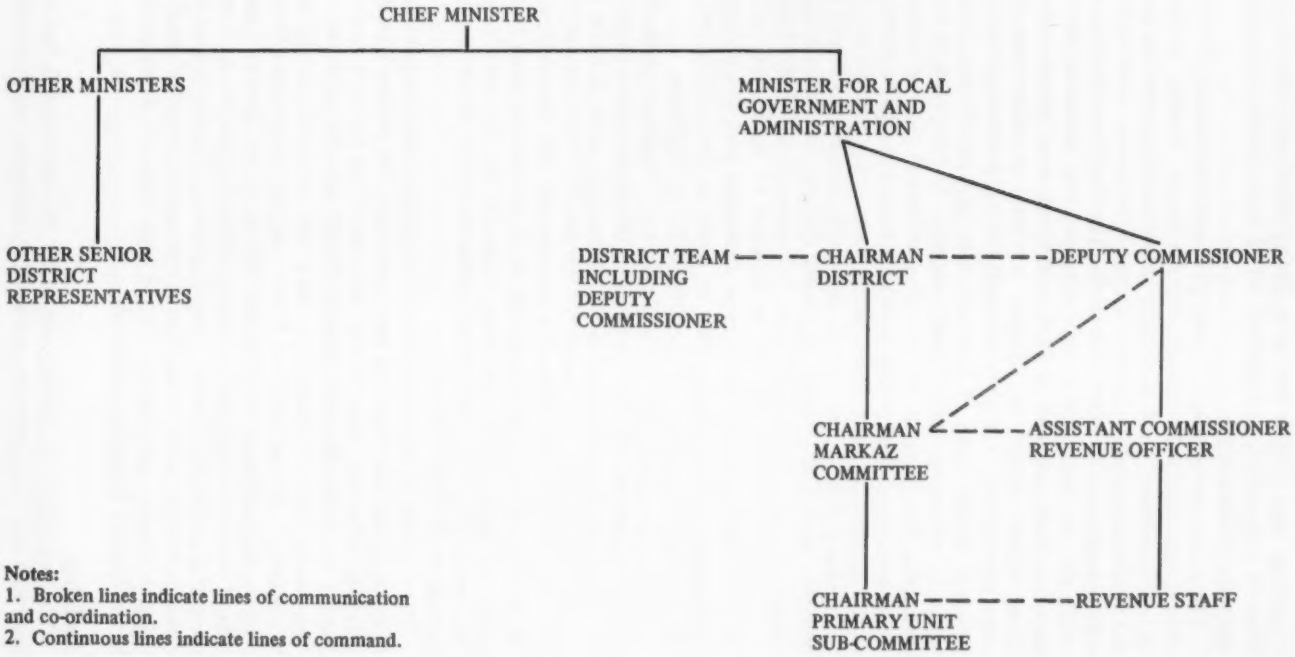
Turning now to the district council, there are three pre-requisites for effective action:

(a) The council must be wholly elected.
(b) It must have available adequate finances, either rates and taxes imposed by itself, or funds from provincial and federal governments.
(c) It must have available and under its direct control staff capable of carrying out works for which it is responsible.

In all provinces, the lists of *compulsory* functions allotted to councils bear no relation to the funds or staff at their disposal. It would be far better to make

Diagram III

Proposed Division of Responsibility for Integrated Rural Development at Provincial Level



Notes:
1. Broken lines indicate lines of communication and co-ordination.
2. Continuous lines indicate lines of command.

a moderate and realistic start with limited functions which can be readily financed and staffed. A suggested list of such functions is given in the appendix to this paper.

There is no provision in the Local Government Ordinances for the creation of local authorities at levels lower than the district. Pending the introduction of such legislation, which is strongly recommended, a start can be made by the establishment of executive committees at *markaz* level and executive sub-committees at primary unit levels. The functions allocated are those which they are best fitted to undertake, and they should be provided with necessary funds and staff to implement them or at least to make a start. Clean villages depend on villagers' co-operation rather than money. If committees are not to be given responsibility for undertaking these functions, mundane though many of them are, they will rapidly lose interest; they would be nothing but local debating societies. The emphasis on functions is deliberate. This is not to say that the membership of these councils is unimportant. A particular matter to which attention should be given is the size of the councils. A strict mathematical formula for membership based on population as is envisaged in Sind could well lead to an extremely large and unwieldy council in densely populated districts and unrealistically small councils in areas such as Baluchistan. Consequently, a more flexible approach is recommended. This can best be achieved by establishing each district council under the Local Government Ordinance with its own special legal "Instrument" which will not only lay down its composition, but will also set out its powers and functions, compulsory and optional.

Mention has already been made of a division of functions within the district at *markaz* and primary unit levels. The reason for such a division is that the District is in many cases too remote from the scene of action to ensure popular participation. It is because of this that IRDP, in common with many other programmes, has adopted a development unit intermediate between the district and lowest local authority level, whether the latter be village or group of villages. This is the status of the *Markaz*. No specific size can be laid down. Unless very good reasons dictate otherwise, existing administrative boundaries should be followed.

The main *development* functions of the district council should be delegated to *markaz* level since there the best opportunity for popular participation in planning, organising, co-ordinating and controlling activities occurs. It is at *markaz* level that the co-ordination of staff calls for particular attention. The present Project Manager, who has a very useful role, should be retained but possibly a change of title to *Markaz* Manager is justified. He should be directly responsible to the Principal Officer of the District Council with control over all council staff operating within the *Markaz*. At district level, the staff of the District Council is largely advisory. This is because a functional division of responsibility would lead to unnecessary complications if extended down to *Markaz* and Primary Unit. A high degree of co-ordinating ability in the *Markaz* Manager is required.

Training

The importance of training can hardly be over-stressed, but cannot be dealt with here. It is, however, necessary to emphasise two important aspects:

(i) Training of chairmen and councillors in council and committee procedures and how to conduct (and behave at) meetings;
(ii) "Managerial" training for councils' chief officers and *Markaz* managers, particularly how and what to delegate.

Local Council Service

The Local Government Ordinances provide for the establishment of a Local Council Service. This is strongly recommended. It is suggested that such a service be established:

(i) On a national basis for senior staff i.e. chief executives or chief technical officers;
(ii) On a provincial basis for all other staff.

The establishment of a Local Council Service will provide for council servants a status and career prospects presently lacking. The suggested division between "national" and "provincial" is to enable senior officers to be transferable which is beneficial to them and to the councils they serve.

Provision should be made for a pension fund or a provident fund. Although there should be close relationship with the Public Service Commissions, it is suggested that the ultimate size of the Local Council Service justifies the establishment of Local Council Service Commissions *ab initio*.

Relations With Other Bodies

Relations with co-operative societies have already been discussed. A well-conducted local authority is appreciative of the value and work of voluntary associations which usually supplement the authority's own services. The establishment by the Council of a co-ordinating committee or similar device at district level would be helpful and avoid unnecessary overlapping.

Conclusion

The development of an effective local government system is urgent. An immediate start can be made when elections to local councils have been held. Until this happens, an essential feature of integrated rural development, popular participation, is largely missing, and any development programme is correspondingly handicapped.

APPENDIX

SUGGESTED COMPULSORY FUNCTIONS

Primary Unit

(1) Sanitation and public health.
(2) Repairs and maintenance of water works and domestic water supplies.
(3) Maintenance of village roads, culverts and bridges.
(4) Prevention and abatement of nuisances.
(5) Allocation of irrigation water to end-users.
(6) Planting and preservation of trees on road sides and in public places.
(7) Maintenance of public play-grounds and public places.

Markaz

(1) Provision and improvements of public roads, culverts and bridges.
(2) Provision of public gardens, play-grounds and places.

(3) Provision of water supplies, construction of water works and other sources of supply.
(4) Planning and execution of agricultural, industrial and community development schemes.
(5) Adoption of measures for increased agricultural production.

District

(1) Provision and maintenance of dispensaries.
(2) Maintenance and regulation of public ferries (excluding those maintained by Government).
(3) Provision and maintenance of Rest Houses.
(4) Prevention, regulation and removal of encroachments.
(5) Holding of fairs, shows and public festivals.
(6) Prevention, regulation and control of infectious diseases.
(7) Protection of food-stuffs and prevention of adulteration.
(8) Relief measures in the case of calamity.
(9) Regulation of traffic, licensing of vehicles other than motor vehicles, and the establishment and maintenance of public stands for vehicles.
(10) Regulation of dangerous buildings and structures.
(11) Enforcement of building lines in villages.
(12) Co-operation with other bodies and organisations engaged in similar activities.
(13) Concurrent responsibility for functions in the primary unit and *Markaz*, i.e. approval of estimates, etc.
(14) Any other functions that may be directed by the Government.

Problems of Local Government Reform in a Small State: the case of Barbados

By PAUL SINGH

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CLEARLY "smallness" is not an absolute but a relative and comparative term. British constitutionalists used to define small territories as those British dependencies which they regarded as unlikely because of geographical, economic or social limitations, to be able to assume the burdens of sovereignty[1]. But the recent history of newly-independent states emerging in Africa, in the Caribbean and in the Pacific have made this old criterion obsolete.

As these new smaller sovereign nations occupy seats in the United Nations side by side with their larger "equals", smallness becomes a more elusive concept, difficult to define with any precision. If the primary criterion is area, this will make Barbados, with a total of 166 square miles, small, but Guyana with 83,000 square miles, large. If it is population density, Barbados with a population density of 1507 per square mile, becomes large and Guyana with a density of 8 per square mile, becomes small. From an economic point of view, smallness takes such dimensions as heavy reliance on a very few primary products for export, making the small country peculiarly vulnerable to fluctuations in world trade, and a diminutive domestic market, forcing them to rely largely on imports. Yet some large under-developed countries are in a similar situation[2].

The same difficulty arises in public administration. The problem of all countries large and small is essentially that of maximising managerial efficiency within the bounds of available resources. Size does not affect the basic problems, it merely affects the available remedies. It is therefore suggested that solutions available to and successfully applied in larger units may be unavailable to small units, and if they are available they may well be inappropriate. This standpoint sees the basic administrative problem as not so much one that is peculiar to small size as such, as one of finding solutions[3].

The paradox which emerges is that all agree that smallness is hard to define, yet all agree that smallness is associated with a peculiar weakness and vulnerability to crises and pressures that larger countries can brush off or

[1]Blood, Sir Hilary. *Parliaments in Small Territories* in "Parliament as an Export", ed. by Sir Allan Burns, Allen & Unwin, 1966.

[2]Knox, A. D. *Some Economic Problems of Small Countries* in "Problems of Smaller Territories", ed. by Burton Benedict, The Athlone Press, London, 1967.

[3]Burgess, G. *Administrative Development in Smaller Countries: the Capacity of Technical Assistance to meet their special problems* in "Journal of Administration Overseas", Vol. VII, No 3, July 1968. HMSO, London.

overcome. The purpose of this article is to throw further light on the nature of these difficulties by making a brief survey of the history of the reorganisation of the local government system in Barbados. The crux of the matter becomes one of finding a balance between such contrasting, but not mutually exclusive, emphases as individual liberty and corporate authority, local political initiative and central government direction, citizen participation and professional management, and popular responsiveness and effective administration.

The Historical Perspective

The roots of local government in Barbados stretch back to the arrival of the first British settlers in 1625. These early sugar-planters brought with them ideas founded on contemporary British institutions just as their fellow-settlers in North America had done. The "British Model" came as "accompanied baggage" rather than as an "export" and there was no indigenous culture to offer competing ideas. The transplanted institutions had a field to themselves in which they could thrive with unfettered ease. Consequently, the original model remained basically unchanged for over three centuries down to 1959.

The transplanted organs of local self-government were specimens of the Elizabethan vestries. These vestries were largely concerned in both England and Barbados with administering the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 and in both countries they occupied much the same position in the 17th and 18th centuries as regards their functions and procedures. The vestry consisted of the parish rector, the churchwarden, the local justice of the peace and a number of members elected annually. It made its own assessments, levied money rates, spending it very much as it saw fit. Provided they kept within the law, vestries could follow differing policies. There was very little central government control.

The subsequent history has been very different. In England vestries became increasingly incapable of administering poor relief, partly because the parish was too small a unit, partly because such administration proved unsuitable for changing conditions. The English Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 amalgamated groups of parishes to form Poor Law Unions and it also revolutionised the administration. The general proposition that officials worked under an elected body was now supplemented by the need for both officials and the elected element to keep within the procedures and limits imposed from the centre. In this way a substantial measure of central control and a system of government grants-in-aid became normal characteristics of various services.

The course in Barbados has been different, probably because there were no great upheavals such as the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent Industrial Revolution to upset the pattern. Moreover, Barbados stands out as the only former British West Indian colony which retained an unbroken line of constitutional advance at the national level from the Old Representative system; there was an absence of Crown Colony rule with its highly-centralised hierarchical structure. Indeed, when change was required in the infrastructure this was dealt with by creating Parochial Boards linked with the vestries.

Two of these, the Poor Law Board and the General Board of Health, were mere appendages of the vestries; their control powers were so ineffectual that the executive committees of the vestries exercised almost complete freedom in the discharge of their duties, and a remarkable absence of central government control continued. If a system had grown up whereby central government grants had been made to the vestries, then doubtless their activities would have fallen subject to some measure of examination and control. Government grants were in general confined to highways, which was precisely the field where a local/central transfer of powers occurred, so that no principles of financial control sprang up. Nearly fifty years ago the process began of central government taking over the roads. This started a new and persistent trend: as new services or extensions of existing services came to be needed they were provided by the central government.

The Moyne Report of 1945 commented on the extraordinary degree to which the functions of government were decentralised and distributed among the Island's eleven vestries in a territory measuring but twenty-one miles by fourteen[4], and pointed out that the Barbados Government exercised hardly any control over the parochial authorities in vitally important matters of education, public works and public health. The Report added:

"Social improvement can be fostered by and indeed may depend for its success upon co-operation between Government and people through the medium of properly constituted local authorities. There is, however, a point beyond which flexibility and local participation in public work degenerate into chaotic discrepancies and lack of co-ordination, and that point seems to us to have been passed in Barbados. To take an obvious example, certain health measures require to be planned for the Island as a whole, and it is most unsatisfactory that the loyal co-operation of one parish with the central authority may be rendered completely nugatory by inaction on the part of its neighbour. The officers corresponding to the heads of technical departments elsewhere, such as Directors of Education and of Medical Services are confined in Barbados to purely inspectorial, advisory, and reporting functions and have no means of controlling or enforcing the execution of measures which may have behind them the sanction of the Legislature."[5]

Wasteful duplication and the inadequacy of the vestry services lent strong support to this criticism. The unhealthy state of local government necessitated a general overhaul of the whole system.

Post-War Structural Reforms

After the Second World War the job of advising on local reform was entrusted to Sir John Maude, the notable British local government expert, who was sent to the Island in June 1948 by the British Secretary of State[6]. Sir John found the quasi-ecclesiastical bodies wholly anachronistic. Among the defects he listed were the existence of eleven separate authorities

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[4]Moyne, Lord (Chairman), *West India Royal Commission Report*, Cmd. 6607, HMSO London, 1945.
[5]*Ibid.*, p 393.
[6]Maude, Sir John (now Lord Redcliffe Maude). *Report on Local Government in Barbados*, February 1949.

suffering chronically from the diseconomies of small scale; the combination of civil and ecclesiastical functions in a single body; the assumption, no longer well founded, that the Rector of the parish should necessarily be the spokesman and leader of the parish in civil affairs; a term of office, one-year, much too short to secure reasonable continuity of administration; an unnecessarily complicated system of local taxation which gave rise to many anomalies; and a franchise so narrow that less than three per cent of the population actually voted in local government elections.

Sir John was convinced of the need for change, but, being an unflinching protagonist of local self-government, objected sternly to drastic centralisation on two main grounds. In the first place, in a territory where democratic institutions in the shape of an elected House of Assembly and elected Vestries had persisted for more than three centuries, and where there had been a steady extension of the parliamentary franchise, he felt it would be a startling inconsistency to fall back on a purely bureaucratic administration of local affairs. If, as he argued, it was said that there were constitutional checks on the powers of the House of Assembly, it could fairly be replied that checks of at least as severe a kind could be, and in most systems of local government were, imposed on local bodies.

The second objection was the practical one that to entrust the whole administration of local affairs to central government would be to impose on it an intolerable burden. Provided always that an area selected for administration of a local service was such as to admit of reasonably efficient and economical management, it should be for the inhabitants of the area to decide what they needed and what they were prepared to pay for. The task of the Government should be one of general oversight. They should see that within reasonable limits of discretion the local bodies maintained a proper standard of services, that within similar limits they were not extravagant and that they held the scales fairly between one class of inhabitants and another and between the present and future generations – but the day to day management of local affairs with all their petty local details was not the proper role for central government.

Nevertheless, the task of re-mapping new areas which could conform to the principles of convenience and efficiency bristled with difficulties. One obvious course would be to treat the whole Island as a single local government unit and to concentrate all local government services in one Council, centred on Bridgetown – the capital city. Barbados is in size and population comparable with one of the smaller English counties and in many respects it would make a good unit of administration for such local services as were not controlled by central government. But such a course would be open to several objections. First, the people of Bridgetown and its suburbs differ markedly in occupation, mode of life and outlook from those of the countryside. This is in itself a *prima facie* reason for not combining the two. Second, centralisation in Bridgetown of all local government activities would be inconvenient for the outlying parishes and would probably kill local democracy. Third, the proposal would, like the proposal to place all local services in the hands of the Government, throw the burden of dealing with Bridgetown on the Island as a whole.

Another possible course, which can be dismissed shortly, would be to set up in the Island a system on the lines of an English county, that is, with a County Council administering the major services and a number of District Councils administering the remainder. In view of the number of services in Government hands, many of which must clearly remain there, a two-tier system would plainly be too elaborate and expensive.

There is no doubt that the City of Bridgetown should form one unit. The exact delimitation of its area would require consideration in connection with any town planning scheme that might be adopted. The general aim would be to include in the new area the present town, the suburbs so far as they are a continuous growth, and a reasonable amount of open land, in particular any area earmarked under any planning scheme as sites for houses or industrial development. Land reserved for agricultural purposes should normally be excluded.

Redrawing the City limits on these lines would be no more than a large-scale exercise in boundary adjustment. In the rest of the Island the case is quite different. Two topographical factors are important. First, there is a lack of substantial villages; and secondly, the general flat surface of the Island has facilitated a complete network of excellent roadways connecting up all the parishes. The first factor undoubtedly makes it more difficult to select suitable local government areas, for there are no market towns or large villages to form the natural centre for all ordinary purposes – schools, shopping, amusements and so on. The second factor simplifies the problem and makes relatively large local authority areas practicable. A division of the countryside into two parts, Northern and Southern, would mean for those living furthest away a journey of little more than six miles by road to a central meeting place.

The Maude Plan proposed that local government should be reorganised on the basis of three areas – the City of Bridgetown, the Northern District and the Southern District, each under its own Council. The proposed reduction of eleven areas to three met surprisingly stiff opposition. It was argued most persuasively that the basis of reorganisation put disproportionate emphasis on the principle that the size and population of the unit must be large enough to make the administration of the various services efficient and attached little importance to the democratic principle of "nearness" of the representative councillor to the electorate. Insufficient weight was placed on local patriotism, local allegiance and local sentiment. The chief spokesman for the Opposition in the House of Assembly who had served as both a vestryman and a vestry clerk for many years, averred that "systems of local government are based on something more than area, assessable value or population; they are based on that indefinable sentiment, the foundation of which is history and custom, which makes of a local government unit an authority that touches the everyday life of the residents of an area in a manner that a too-centralised system never can."

It is there in the parish, in the not too large locality, that the local councillor is made conscious from day to day, and week by week, that the services he administers are bound up with the daily experience of the people who put

him there."[7] The Opposition urged the creation of six areas finding on this basis a balance between technical efficiency and local civic consciousness.

The democracy – efficiency conflict became so acute that it took ten years before the Maude Plan was implemented. The reformed structure departed from the Maude Recommendations in several ways but two are particularly pertinent. The powers of the three councils remained essentially those of the old vestries, except that they had been relieved of duties in respect of ecclesiastical matters, valuations for local taxation and responsibility for any roads. Sir John Maude had envisaged additional powers being conferred. The point to be made here is that since the powers of the new councils were so very much those of the vestries, there was an understandable carry-over of practices that grew up with the vestries. Again, the Maude Report stressed the importance of the development of central government control of the local authorities, but control in a way that would bring a partnership rather than any relationship of master and servant. Central government grants-in-aid to the councils' finances were seen more as a method of applying persuasion backed by powers than as a subsidy to council funds. The 1958 Act accepted the need for more central control and established the office of Local Government Commissioner but did so substantially in the tradition of the older "controls" in that it was essentially advisory. Within a decade of the new system being introduced the forces of centralisation gathered momentum.

The Forces of Centralisation

In 1963 the government considered it necessary to appoint a new Commission to enquire into all aspects of the working of the three local government councils. The new Commissioner, Dr. Richard Jackson, was asked to consider specifically the ways and means of achieving greater efficiency in the services at the lowest possible cost to the ratepayers, and the advisability of the centralisation of local services. He was faced with the crucial question as to whether local government should continue. In larger countries there has to be local government or some form of decentralisation. In England the nationalised hospital service is regionalised to make it manageable. But "Barbados has no such need", pointed out Dr. Jackson[8], who went on to say that for some years, education, police, water-supply, and other services had been run by central government and the central government could manage public assistance and public health if these functions were transferred from the local councils.

The continuance of local government would be justified if it could be shown that the local councils administered their services with efficiency and economy, but Dr. Jackson found it impossible to support them on that score. The administration was top heavy and cost far too much. The organisation of the office work was extravagant in staff. Some of the services were not run as well as they should be owing to interference by elected members. There was no prospect of increasing the efficiency of local government except by

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[7] *Barbados Hansard.* Speech by Mr. Vaughan: Debates of the House of Assembly, Tuesday, 8th April, 1952.

[8] Jackson, Richard. *Report on Local Government in Barbados*, 1964.

introducing a substantial measure of inspection and control by central government. Local government in a small state thus stood between the devil and the deep blue sea – extreme centralisation or complete dissolution.

In April 1967 the Barbados Government steered it in the latter direction. The Island's three local councils were dissolved and some of their functions placed entirely in the hands of a single official designated the Interim Commissioner for Local Government. Public health, roads, street lighting, public assistance services were transferred to the central government. Dr. Jackson had recommended that the local Trade Tax should also be taken over by government but envisaged that property rating powers would remain with the local councils. The Government, however, decided to take over the rating functions also because of the desirability of achieving a uniform rate on property throughout the Island in place of three widely-divergent rates levied by the local councils, the need to achieve a more efficient administration of rate collections, and because of the necessity to plan more comprehensively for the overhaul of the Island's total tax structure in the light of the rapidly-expanding economy[9].

Conclusions

The history of local government reform in Barbados has shown a full swing of the pendulum from an almost absolute degree of local autonomy to the complete dissolution of the local government system. In this small state the forces of centralisation have acquired overwhelming strength. The apparent conclusion is that no administrative advantage is likely to be gained by transferring to local authorities those services administered by central government which are deemed appropriate elsewhere to local government. On the contrary, it appears that distinct advantages might be gained in efficiency and economy by transferring to central government the services performed by local councils. In short, it seems that from a purely administrative point of view there is little genuine need for local government in the modern sense in a small state such as Barbados. Against these considerations must be set the advantages of community self-government, the greater 'intimacy" and "responsiveness", the need for popular participation and popular control. The case for community self-government is weakened, however, by a lack of a coherent localised social structure which provides an impetus to motives of community service and prestige. Community bonds have become diffused and elusive, and this weakens the argument in favour of local government institutions.

The usual approach in grass-roots government, of looking for citizen contact through insistence on small units based on sociological size has to be seen in a new light. "Smallness" has to be related to three important limiting factors: first, that the scale of operations must be big enough to attract first-rate people to the service of the local authority both as councillors and officials; secondly, that the resources of the council must be sufficient to support the full range of its services, whether obligatory or voluntary;

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[9]Barbados Government. *Aide Memoire on Local Government Councils (Dissolution and Interim Commissioner) Bill*, 1967.

thirdly, that the size of the population within the local unit must be large enough to make the administration of each of the various services reasonably efficient.

In small states, efficiency is not easily equated with popular control. The case of Barbados raises the important principle of whether citizens of small-scale societies attach more importance to functional efficiency, in which case they might prefer their Government to provide them with all the services they need, or whether they wish to share in the management of their own affairs through local councils, even if this meant that development was slower, more expensive or less efficient. The survival of local government in small states depends on whether people are motivated more by a general belief in the values of popular participation and closer lay control, than by strong functional arguments.

Education and Training in the Nigerian Agricultural Extension Service

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NIGERIA has, over the past decade, recognised the role which education and training can play in the economic and social development of the country. With this awareness has come a rapid expansion of institutions for agricultural education. In addition to several vocational-type agricultural programmes in the secondary school curricula, Nigeria has developed a number of institutions to provide training in technical agriculture.

The institutions for agricultural education and training in the country fall into three main categories:

1. university-level education and training for professional personnel to undertake research and administration duties in agricultural institutions and organisations,
2. intermediate-level training to provide the large number of technical officers required in all aspects of agriculture, including the extension services, and
3. the vocational type of training for young people who intend to take up farming as a career.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the present status of staff training in the Nigerian extension service and to ascertain the extent to which it has aided or retarded agricultural progress.

The Present Status of Staff Training in The Nigerian Extension Services

The Extension Service in Nigeria falls within the Agriculture Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, although in the East Central State, it has attained ministerial status. The Division is headed by the Chief Inspector of Agriculture assisted by a Deputy who are responsible for general administration, direction, co-ordination, development and implementation of the various programmes and activities of the Extension Service. These officers are technically qualified men with many years of experience.

Next in seniority are Chief Agricultural Officers and Principal Agricultural Officers. For both these grades the minimum professional qualification is a bachelor's degree in agriculture. They are usually at headquarters and responsible to the Chief Inspector. Then come those grades which function at the zonal, divisional and Community Council levels. Generally, technically-qualified officers are placed in charge of zonal and divisional programme implementation and personnel supervision. They are agricultural officers or agricultural superintendents. The former are usually university graduates

while the latter hold a diploma from a School of Agriculture, a sub-university training institution.

Finally there are agricultural assistants (AA's) and field overseers (FO's) who are of special interest in this study. They form the grass-roots extension staff and they have the least education of all agricultural department personnel. A study made in 1974 in Mid West State indicated that over 70 per cent of field staff had basic education below school certificate level[1] – yet these grades of workers constitute the contact point between the Extension Service and the farm population.

In most of the States the lowest grade of staff is that of Field Overseer. This worker has received no formal training in agriculture, but is trained on the job, while he works directly with the farmers in his area. His colleague in the field, the Agricultural Assistant may have had as little as a year's training in technical agriculture. It is not perhaps surprising that these two grades upon whom so much depends, as the point of contact in the field between farmer and extension service, have not been able to achieve a great deal of success with the farming community. The ability of an extension worker to guide farmers from awareness to sustained adoption of farm practices is dependent on his training and experience in agriculture and extension methods.

The predominance of poorly-trained extension staff in Nigeria's Extension Services probably arises from the mistaken notion that extension work is simple and anyone can do it, or perhaps from the misconception of extension work as the provision of services only. But if it is realised that the principal function of extension is education – the education of the farmer, then the need for proper staff training would be better appreciated.

Staff Use of Extension Methods

A useful measure of the adequacy of staff training in extension work is the degree to which various extension methods are used by staff to pass on information to farmers. Success of an extension worker's effort is dependent on the type and intensity of the methods he uses to teach farmers and to persuade them to adopt new farming practices. In a study which the author and others conducted in the Eastern States in 1966 to determine the extent to which field staff used selected extension methods to teach the farming community, it was found that farmers had low exposure to the various methods studied, as the following table shows, based on replies to questions relating to the preceding period of twelve months.

FARMERS' EXPOSURE TO EXTENSION METHODS

Type of Methods	*Per cent of Farmers*		
	Yes	*No*	*Total*
Listened to Agricultural Radio programmes ..	41	59	100
Saw Agricultural demonstration	39	61	100
Talked with extension workers	26	74	100
Saw Agricultural films	25	75	100
Attended Agricultural Lectures	21	79	100
Read Agricultural newsletter/pamphlets	16	84	100
			N = 1,347

[1]Patrick G. Ogadi, *Administrative Bottlenecks of the Extension Service in the Mid-western State;* unpublished 1st Degree Report, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1974.

SOURCE: Phase II Report of Selected Descriptive Findings for 1,347 Farmers in 71 Eastern Nigerian Villages. AID/MSU. Diffusion of Innovations Report No. 72, 1967.

The farmers' low exposure to extension methods – and this means low participation in extension programmes – could have been due to limitations imposed on extension workers by such factors as insufficient field staff, lack of transport facilities, inability of field staff to make effective use of these methods owing to poor training in the use of extension methods, or perhaps the lack of any training at all. These constraints have been identified by other workers as serious bottlenecks in extension work in Nigeria[2].

Apart from the extension service effort to establish and promote export crops, extension workers have concentrated their attention so far on service rather than educational functions. Because commercial undertakings which should support farmers with needed farm supplies and services are not yet developed in Nigeria, the extension service has remained satisfied with discharging such functions as the supply and distribution of seeds, fertilisers, day-old chicks, feeds, sprays and other inputs. These are service functions which in the writer's opinion should gradually be divorced from the Extension Service and left entirely to the private sector. A good beginning has already been made here and there, in the production and distribution of day-old chicks and animal feeds by private concerns.

In addition to supply and service functions, the Extension Service has taken on a number of activities including the oil palm rehabilitation scheme, cocoa improvement scheme, rubber planting scheme, collection of statistics on crops, assembling of meteorological data as well as certain regulatory functions such as produce inspection[3]. This proliferation of activities under the umbrella of extension has tended to make extension workers lose sight of their true function, namely, the education of the farmer. It has also led to a situation wherein the limited resources and meagre trained manpower available have been spread too thinly to be effective.

Constraints due to inadequate number of Field Staff

In the light of these varied duties, it may well be that the apparent poor performance of the extension service, as shown in the study considered above, is as much a reflection on the inadequate number of extension staff working in the villages as it is on the inadequacy of staff training. Research evidence has shown that the extension workers, using various methods, have been able to reach between 16 and 41 per cent of Southern States farmers and have been able to persuade only between 9 and 25 per cent of these farmers to adopt the various programmes recommended[4]. In effect, the bulk of the farmers are not affected by the activities of the extension staff.

It seems, therefore, that there is need not only to train the staff, but to

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[2]See, for example, James M. Kincaid, *Strategies for Improvement of Agricultural Extension Work and Non-degree Training in Nigeria*, CSNRD 13, 1968.

[3]Produce inspection is now the responsibility of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

[4]L. O. Obibuaku and G. D. Hursh, "Farm Practice Adoption in the Eastern States of Nigeria", *Agricultural Administration*, *Vol.* 1, *No* 2, 1974; p. 115-123.

increase their number. It was estimated that in the 1962-63 period, there were only 419 senior agriculturists and 2,822 Agricultural Assistants in the extension services of the country[5]. This gives a total of 3,241 extension workers and a ratio of one extension worker to 2,000 farm families in the Southern States. In the North, the ratio is as high as one to 5,000. Experts are in agreement that these ratios are out of tune with meaningful extension work and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations has recommended 1,000 farm families to one extension worker. Even this ratio is considered too low if extension work of an intensive nature is really put into practice.

A number of projections have been made as to Nigeria's overall manpower needs in the field of agriculture. Ashby, for example, projected a total agricultural manpower requirement of 5,100 in the managerial, administrative, professional and supervisory grades for the period 1958 to 1970[6]. Kincaid projected a total of 8,371 junior and intermediate staff for Nigeria's extension services during the period 1970 to 1985[7]. Of these 667 would be in the Senior Intermediate grades with the remainder in junior grades. While the need for substantially increasing the number of extension staff is incontrovertible, the necessity for replacing the junior grades with better-trained staff cannot be overstressed.

Other observers, realising the paucity of the number of extension staff at present employed in the service, have advocated concentrating extension effort on selected groups of farmers instead of working with the entire farming population. Glen Johnson *et al*, for example, recommended concentrating extension effort on small groups of responsive farmers and teaching them new farming techniques properly in the hope that they can serve as demonstrators for other farmers. They hold that "concentration of extension workers means that initially one extension agent would be expected to work with about 40 responsive farmers in the tree-drop campaigns and one agent for about 50 to 75 responsive farmers in the annual crop campaigns. As Extension agents and farmers gain experience, an agent can be expected to serve a larger number of farmers"[8].

The United States and Japan are examples of advanced countries where the need to employ sufficient number of extension staff has long been realised. In the USA there were already 5,550 extension staff in field work in 1934. In reviewing Japan's agricultural success story, an FAO study noted that Japanese extension services were staffed on a scale which made advice on farm management readily available to all farmers[9]. Extension workers were encouraged to live in the villages they served instead of spending much of their time at district or provincial headquarters. The significance of these figures in relation to that projected for Nigeria will be realised if one considers the United States' large commercial farms and consequent smaller number of farmers involved.

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[5]*FAO Agricultural Development in Nigeria*, 1964-80, FAO, Rome, 1965.
[6]Ashby, Sir Eric, *et al*, *Investment in Education, Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria*, 1960.
[7]See Kincaid, J. M. Jr. *Ibid.*
[8]See Glen Johns *et al. Ibid*, 1969.
[9]FAO, *Ibid*, 1966.

One of the reasons for the United States and Japan enjoying agricultural prosperity today is because from an early stage they paid special attention to scientific advances, invested money in training extension workers and in the development of agriculture.

Advanced status is within Nigeria's reach. The country is endowed with enormous resources both human and material. Her mineral oil is flowing. She can use her oil wealth to develop her agricultural as well as industrial economy so that the wealth thus generated will continue to flow long after her oil wells have become dry.

The Level of Education and Training Required by Extension Workers

The question may then be asked – what should be the level of training for field workers, that is, the staff at grass roots actually working day by day with farmers? Before hazarding a reply, let us examine what happens in other countries. In the United States and most European countries, the minimum requirement is a bachelor's degree. As a matter of fact, the tendency in the United States today is towards advanced degrees. Even in some developing countries, such as Korea, the Philippines and Jordan, only degree holders are employed[10].

Nigeria's present circumstances demand well-trained, devoted and effective extension staff. Nigerian farmers may be illiterate, but they are not stupid. Rather are they shrewd, realistic, and very much the "economic man". This view was shared by the British Resident in Kano as long ago as 1911 when he said, "In my experience the farmers of this province are keen businessmen. They grow what it pays them to grow"[11]. It is essential, therefore, for staff working with our farmers to know what they are talking about.

To be effective, such staff must have practical knowledge of agriculture, of farm management, of marketing, and of how to approach and influence farmers. It is suggested that the minimum qualification for agricultural extension work is a diploma granted by either an Agricultural College or by a university. The significance of this recommendation will be clear when it is realised that extension work is concerned not merely with the farmer alone, but with the totality of his rural environment. There are within rural communities basic problems of a social and economic nature, which, unless solved, will continue to militate against the extension worker's effort and help to perpetuate agricultural under-development.

The problem of Nigeria's agricultural under-development can be tackled among other ways, through an enlarged system of agricultural extension service acting in concert with other government agencies which work in rural areas. Agricultural development is only an aspect of rural development. There are many other requirements which include extensive development at village level such as: improvement of health and educational services, expansion of village trading and commerce, the creation of processing

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[10]See C. W. Chang, *Increasing Food Production through Education Research and Extension*. FAO, Rome, 1962, p. 32.

[11]Kano Province Report, 1911, p. 93, quoted by Hogendon, *Origins of Groundnut Trade*, p. 34.

industries to turn agricultural raw materials into secondary products, improved housing, water supplies, sanitation, roads and other public services. All these are necessary if dynamic manpower is to be retained in the rural areas and it is obvious that such manpower will not be retained unless productivity in rural communities is raised substantially. Members of the extension staff required to work under conditions in which a policy aimed at total rural transformation is brought into focus, must be adequately equipped not only with knowledge of general agriculture, but must have some knowledge also of sociology, psychology, rural organisation, leadership qualities, village survey methods and human relations. All these are essential tools that would enable them to work successfully with farmers and rural groups, and to co-operate harmoniously with representatives of other agencies, as well as playing a leadership role in initiating rural development programmes.

Conclusion

Considering the facts discussed so far, one would recommend that a more practical problem-oriented approach be taken in the training of extension workers. Particular emphasis should be placed on how to solve Nigeria's present farm problems – how to combat low productivity and how to induce the farmer to adopt improved farming practices.

Space does not permit a full-scale consideration of extension training curricula, but the impression created is that some of the training given at Schools of Agriculture has relevance neither to the type of farming at present carried on in Nigeria, nor to the job that trainees would be called upon to do after training. This view is supported by Butler during his study of the Schools of Agriculture in the Western State, when he reported as follows:

"A dairy class was discussing pasture rotation, strip grazing and electric fencing for dairy cows. The author seriously questions whether that subject material may be much more appropriate for the future than for the present time. Currently the only dairy herds existing in Nigeria are those owned and operated by the government . . . During a field experimentation . . . the instructor was discussing the subject of statistics with the trainees. The entire class period observed by the writer was devoted to the concept of 'standard deviation'. Again there is a question whether such subject matter is relevant to the needs of most of the trainees. Job responsibilities for field workers in extension would seem to require little in specialised skills regarding rather sophisticated statistical concepts."[12]

While "knowledge for its own sake" may be an acceptable idea for university level learning, it is questionable whether it is appropriate where trainees need tools for solving urgent farm problems, and where the time at their disposal is not even sufficient to acquire enough "know-how" to do an effective job in the field. Extension staff training should place considerable emphasis on intensive and extensive practical work. Regrettably, it seems that some schools treat the periods for "practicals" all too lightly. As part of his observation study in the Western State, Butler also said:

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[12]R. O. Butler, *A Study of Selected Non-Degree Agricultural Training Institutions in the Western State of Nigeria*. CSNRD 29, 1969, p. 112.

"In observing practicals, four different scheduled classes were selected. Two practicals were not held; one because the instructor did not show up and the other for not having gasoline for transportation. The other two practicals consisted of lecture/discussion and questions with no trainee practice involved."[13]

All these are antitheses to the concept of "practicals" as properly designed for extension staff training. Such periods should be used to help trainees acquire skills which they will be able to transfer to others when they take up their jobs.

During "practicals" trainees should acquire experiences not only in the management of soils, livestock and poultry, but also in the identification and analysis of field problems. Part of an extension training laboratory are the farming communities around the school. Contact with farm and community problems during the training period would expose trainees to the various types of socio-economic questions which they are likely to encounter in the field. This needs to be done and an appropriate curriculum for schools of agriculture, emphasising the practical aspects should be drawn up and put into practice as a matter of urgency.

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[13] *Ibid.*

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Town and Country Planning Overseas Summer School*

The 1974 Overseas Summer School was held at the University of Exeter, 7-11 September, under the Chairmanship of Mr. G. H. Franklin, Physical Planning Adviser to the Ministry of Overseas Development. The theme for the school was "Urbanisation Policies in the Planning Process". There were some 80 participants from 30 countries including 16 from developing nations.

FROM BRITAIN

(a) Dame Barbara Ward in her opening keynote address presented a panorama of urban growth and technological change over the last century, describing the seriousness of the situation facing the developing countries in coming decades, and suggesting the kind of policies and action programmes which are needed to meet such conditions.

The developing world was faced not only with very rapid urban growth at a rate of almost 7 per cent a year – cities in Europe never grew by more than 1.8 per cent – but with increasing rural populations at the same time. The danger lies in the present trend towards the "mega-city", cities of over 10 million population which are likely to make existing conditions in today's major cities seem ideal by contrast.

There has been an idea that urbanisation can look after itself, but the design, spatial distribution and growth of cities can no longer be left to market forces. They must be planned, with land being recognised as a limited resource, not a market commodity, needing social controls over its use, development and disposal, in the community interest. There is a need to hold the growth of major cities, to encourage a better distribution of population in relation to resources, and to build up a network of urban centres of high activity, with the emphasis on large-scale programmes of small-scale development rather than of large-scale development.

(b) Michael Safier was convinced that the present unprecedented rate of urban growth and the high degree of metropolitan concentration will continue and that, in spite of urban poverty and the scarcity of resources, cities will retain their potential for increased productivity, social change and individual opportunity.

He put forward the idea of "redistribution with growth" as an overall guiding concept for planning the special organisation and the physical form of cities and towns in developing countries, a concept based on three objectives, (i) the enhancement of productive capacities, (ii) the alleviation of poverty, and (iii) the reduction of iniquities and inequalities.

(c) George McRobie described the objectives and work of the Intermediate Technology Group. He emphasised the urgent need for employment-creating policies in urban and rural areas of developing countries. This, he believed, can only be achieved through the development and adoption

of more appropriate technologies and methods based on the principles of smallness, simplicity, low capital cost, non-violence and self-help.

(d) John Collins outlined the progress made in research into urban growth in Lusaka by the Team from the Development Planning Unit of University College, London, of which he was the leader. He saw the primary objective of planned urban growth as being the successful absorption of each new increment of population, and he examined and commented on several aspects of urban life including the planning system, employment, transport planning and housing.

FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(a) Professor Ronaldo Ramirez from Chile (and presently with the Development Planning Unit at University College, London) reviewed the urban planning process in Latin America and concluded that its failures were largely due to the complete separation of policies and planning dealing with urbanisation from the social forces actually shaping the processes of national development.

(b) Akef Quazi from Bangladesh (and presently at the University of Edinburgh) stressed the interdependence of urban and rural communities as well as of industry and agriculture, and suggested that where most developing countries are concerned development should more appropriately be viewed in terms of human survival rather than economic performance. He called for a comprehensive approach to agricultural production, dealing with every aspect of rural development. A positive approach such as this would improve the lot of the rural poor and help to relieve pressure on the major urban centres.

(c) Professor Kunbe Hahn from Korea (and presently at the University of Nottingham) presented a case study of Seoul. He pointed out that a major proportion of the relatively small amount allocated to urban housing is spent on building of little or no benefit to the masses of urban poor, and the massive influx of newcomers leads to large-scale unplanned occupation of land, both legal and illegal, and its development well below normally-accepted official standards. He put forward a number of suggestions including the avoidance of large-scale urban renewal projects and high-rise high-density construction, an end to existing *ad hoc* approaches to the solution of housing problems, and the adoption of comprehensive urban settlement policies based on the fullest community co-operation.

The Town and Country Planning Overseas Summer School concerns itself with the planning and development problems, not of overseas countries in general, but of those of the developing world which are found mostly in tropical regions, and house the poorer underprivileged majority of the world's people.

The School provides an unique opportunity each year for professionals of all kinds, administrators, economists, educators, students and others concerned with the planning and development process in developing countries to meet together for five days to listen to and express their views on matters of common interest and responsibility.

(Specially contributed)

UNIVERSITY OF YORK – *Centre for Southern African Studies*

A new project has been launched at the University of York with the object of building up a collection of primary documentary material relating to Southern Africa – Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South West Africa. In particular it is hoped to obtain material on Angola and Mozambique an area of comparative neglect by British Universities.

The director of the Centre is Robert Baldock (York University, Heslington, York YO1 5DD) who will welcome as gifts or on loan, papers, documents, old journals, letters, diaries, and other literature. The Centre is particularly anxious to preserve in its archives papers and records which might otherwise be lost or destroyed.

Book Reviews

Promoting African Enterprise, by BRUCE DINWIDDY, *Croom Helm, in association with the Overseas Development Institute, London,* 1974; pp. xi and 124; no price.

Business in many African countries is predominantly in foreign hands. Most African governments regard such extensive foreign control of economic activity in their countries as unacceptable, and have fought it at two levels.

At the level of the large firms which achieved a dominant position under colonial rule, governments have sought "localisation" of management, and have tried by various means, including nationalisation, to bring foreign firms more effectively under their control. At this level, the constraints of African conditions have pushed most governments, irrespective of ideology, towards expansion of the public sector.

At the lower level of small-scale industry and commerce, governments have used various instruments, including expulsion, to discriminate against immigrant communities such as the Asians of East Africa and the Lebanese of West Africa. But the results, in terms of the emergence of indigenous African enterprise, have not been as significant as was hoped. Bruce Dinwiddy's study shows very clearly why not.

The study was commissioned by the Overseas Development Administration, as it then was, in the early days of the last Conservative government. Its terms of reference required it to examine ways in which aid could assist the promotion of entrepreneurship in the private sector. In the African context, as specified above, this effectively means the promotion of small enterprises. Dinwiddy's study, therefore, is focused on the instruments used for helping small-scale African business men to establish and run their own enterprises. He is generally not concerned with the management of larger enterprises, which would have required a broadening of the terms of reference to include the public sector.

Dinwiddy's general thesis disputes the conventional wisdom, according to which the principal obstacles to the emergence of small enterprises are lack of access to capital and "unfair" competition from larger firms. His argument is that governmental interest in the promotion of indigenous enterprise is political and social rather than economic. This explains, in his view, the heavy reliance on discrimination against immigrant communities, as an easy way of winning political popularity, and the relative lack of attention to ways of assisting Africans to replace the immigrants in the ownership of well managed and profitable enterprises. Indeed, to the extent that replacement would give rise to the emergence of an independent African middle class, governments may in fact have very mixed feelings about the proclaimed objectives of their discriminatory policies.

If Dinwiddy is right, and there is much evidence to suggest that he is, the prospects for the emergence of healthy small enterprises in Africa are

dim. He is himself well aware of the implications of his formulation of the problem. "Governments genuinely seeking to promote African entrepreneurial development probably need to pay closer attention to improving the general business environment, in particular by removing unnecessary restrictions to business activity, rather than to selecting individual entrepreneurs for special assistance" (p. 11).

With that large question mark over the substantive aims of government policy, Dinwiddy is properly cautious about the results to be expected from the usual armoury of instruments for promotion of small enterprises. He records, as others have done, the very high rates of default on loans to small enterprises, and makes the obvious point that the rate of default would be lower if there were less political patronage and more concentration on business capacity. More realistically, he argues that the extension and follow-up requirements of small enterprises are such that any effective promotion programme is bound to be expensive. Given the doubt concerning the reality of the political commitment, he concludes that aid-givers can only make business promotion programmes acceptable by offering *additional* aid for this purpose. While this would seem a sensible conclusion within the constraints as Dinwiddy sees them, it does not really overcome the objection that mounting evidence suggests that the blandishments of aid, even *additional* aid, are not really effective unless there is some local interest group whose aims coincide with those of the aid-giver.

The study is in two parts. The first consists of a comparison of experience with similar instruments in different countries. The second consists of country studies covering Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Swaziland. Within such a brief essay, much of the evidence necessarily has to be presented in shorthand. The book will nevertheless be useful to aid administrators in non-governmental as well as governmental agencies, especially administrators responsible for specific projects and programmes in this field. The current concern of aid agencies with problems of employment and income distribution has led some of them, at least, to regard entrepreneurs with suspicion. It has also led them to shift their attention from practical things that aid agencies can usefully do to broad issues of public policy. Against this trend, Dinwiddy's practical emphasis on ways of getting quite small things done is a refreshing change.

JOHN WHITE

Technical Assistance Administration in East Africa, edited by YASHPAL TANDON; *Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden:* pp. 209 inc. tables and notes.

Developing countries get the technical assistance they deserve. This is the message of this collection of papers presented to the Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa held at Arusha in September 1971, and published by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.

The book deals with technical assistance as distinct from capital aid, although the last two chapters discuss UN agency projects which span both categories. The remaining five chapters discuss the individual experiences

of the three partner states. The Tanzanian situation is recounted by Reginald Green, Economic Adviser to the Treasury with an additional paper by John Loxley on "high-level manpower" which deals only with economists – this presumably puts the rest of us well below the salt. Laxman Bhandari's description of Kenya's aid administration underlines the loss which that country sustained by his tragic death in the Addis Ababa air disaster. It is backed by Walter Oyugi's case study of the role of expatriate personnel in the special rural development programme. Dr. Tandon contributes the chapter on Uganda with a postscript written after the expulsion of the Asian community, together with an able editorial introduction. Finally, Bruce Stedman, UNDP representative in Nairobi, describes the operations of the UN "family" in a factual account disappointingly devoid of the pungency he contributed to the Conference proceedings, while Susan Gitelson provides an evaluation of UNDP projects in East Africa carried out in 1968-69.

Four themes emerge. Firstly, technical assistance is no more philanthropic than other kinds of aid and the supply of personnel can indeed be the most effective means by which a "donor" nation promotes its own interests. Multi-lateral aid may appear to obviate these dangers but UN agencies can be equally guilty of insensitivity to local requirements, particularly when installing standard "pre-packaged" projects like the ILO training centres. No technical assistance is really "free" – it has all sorts of explicit and latent cost to the recipient and the only safeguards are the latter's ability to evaluate net gains (or losses) objectively and willingness "to look a gift horse in the mouth".

Secondly, there is the problem of the unsuitable expert – inexpert, unsympathetic, self-perpetuating, unduly assertive, pampered and pretentious. Looking at others in the business and, all too infrequently, at oneself one often sees the picture. But these failings are virtually inherent in the situation. John Loxley's specifications are for expatriate economists, who must be "highly qualified, experienced, suitably motivated ideologically and intellectually imaginative", content to restrict themselves to advising, not the decision makers but the "rank and file Tanzanian economists", belong to the world of hagiology rather than development administration. Susan Gitelson recognises the dilemma when she says that "the success of UNDP projects often appears to depend upon finding an unusual combination of traits in the project manager. He must evince executive forcefulness at the beginning to ensure the proper establishment and operation of the project but then show willingness to let the local counterparts take over. This blend of dynamism and modesty is rare". It is unrealistic to expect even the most rigorous selection procedures to produce a flow of personnel who combine all the desirable virtues.

This leads on to the argument whether technical assistance personnel should be ideologically neutral or committed. Green and Loxley give powerful examples of the fact that "technical" advice is not value free. But one questions whether a high degree of personal enthusiasm for the stated political goals of the host country is usually associated in character with willingness to comply with a high degree of policy direction by local colleagues and superiors.

The expatriate who is simply devoted to reducing his handicap is less likely to be guilty of "wielding undue influence" than one who has come to help build the New Jerusalem. This suspicion was clearly shared by other participants at the conference.

Perhaps the most powerful criticism of technical assistance is that it so frequently fails to develop local executive capacity. Indeed, it can actively deprive local personnel of the chance to acquire experience of responsibility. The reasons are well-known. Difficulties over counterparts are perhaps the most notorious (128 expatriate urban planners share one Indonesian counterpart), but the increasing use of consultants' firms is the most counter-productive of local skill. It is easy to sympathise with Loxley's conclusion that dependence upon expatriates is so self-perpetuating that the only solution is to get rid of all those not in a strictly-training capacity. Again, Susan Gitelson reminds us of the innate dilemma of inducing expatriates to stay for long enough to learn about the country they serve and to help implement their own recommendations, but not beyond the readiness of nationals to take over. Again, we are bedevilled by the pursuit of the paragon.

It is Green and Bhandari, the two closest to the administration of aid, who strike the most realistic note. Green recognises the intrinsic difficulties and dangers of technical assistance and sympathises with the emotive objections to it. But he cannot and does not attempt to escape the conclusion that some technical assistance is beneficial and essential. What is needed is the organisational reforms by the recipient governments which might help them to maximise its utility and minimise its dangers. The prescriptions are common to public administration as a whole – careful advance planning, rigid scrutiny of proposals from both user and donor agencies to ensure that they conform with national priorities, precise job definition, reduction of complex paperwork and unnecessary delays, rationalisation of concessions (particularly over tax), ensuring technical assistance complementarity with capital aid schemes, equal attention to implementation as to planning. Above all, developing countries must have a clear sense of direction and the resolution to hold to it against external influence from all directions – a willingness to say "no" or "yes, but . . ." to the donor.

K. J. DAVEY

Zambia - Security and Conflict, by JAN PETTMAN; *Julian Friedman Publishers Ltd., Lewes, Sussex,* 1974; pp. 284; £4.25.

This book focuses on Zambia's search for security in the period of the First Republic (1964-72), through an examination of domestic conflicts and external threats. It is competent and workmanlike, as well as clearly and succinctly expressed; it is also the product of considerable industry. But for me the book does not fulfil the promise of its opening two chapters. Why?

There are several reasons. Despite separate chapters on society and the economy, Zambian politics is not sufficiently rooted in its socio-economic and cultural contexts. The relevant chapters do not blend into a convincing whole to give a real "feel" for the country and its people. No attempt is

made to draw upon the extensive social science literature on conflict. This would matter less if the book made an original contribution to our knowledge of Zambian politics. Unfortunately, it does not. While Dr. Pettman has usefully drawn widely scattered material within the compass of a single volume, nothing significantly new emerges. The comment is often intelligent, but it rarely opens up new perspectives; moreover, criticism is guarded. The author's treatment of Zambia's response to the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence is inferior to that of Professor Richard L. Sklar in his excellent article in *Mawazo* (Kampala, 1968) to which – surprisingly – there is no reference either in the text or in the commendably full bibliography. Again, everything that is said about the causes of *coups* (pp. 110-3) has been said before, and there is no mention of Robin Luckham's perceptive work on the military, which would have been particularly relevant to this study.

In many African states, the instruments of control – the bureaucracy, the army, and the police – have tended to become dominant at the expense of the instruments of power, notably the ruling party and interest groups. Dr. Pettman is aware of this trend, but does not assess adequately its relevance for Zambia. She hardly penetrates below the national level of UNIP and the other political parties which she studies. Moreover, she has very little to say about the bureaucracy and the administrative system and tells us virtually nothing beyond what has already been published (for example, by J. M. Lee) about Zambia's army and police. Admittedly, this is a sensitive area for research in Zambia, but a book which takes "security" as one of its major themes should have delved somewhat deeper into this sphere.

The book contains a number of confusing statements. The distinction between tribalism on the one hand and ethnicity and regionalism on the other, is not sharply enough drawn; to write of "denationalising" the banks misrepresents events; and even if it is true that the majority of the people, who live in the rural areas, are "outside" the political system, they are central to our understanding of it. Again, the conflict within UNIP is seen only in negative terms, without consideration of whether it also saved Zambia's ruling party from atrophy. Though substantially accurate, there are a few factual errors. Thus, Dr. Pettman is not correct to say that "in June 1966 Resident Secretaries (Provincial) and District Secretaries were politicised too (p. 48). What happened then was that the President made Resident and District Secretaries his agents for promoting development in the provinces and districts respectively, but they remained civil servants. Provincial Administration had been politicised (as the author notes) in 1964, but the full politicisation of District Administration came only with the appointment of District Governors under the President's 1968-69 administrative reorganisation. It is not correct to say, of Lusaka and Livingstone, for example, that "in all towns the Bemba constitute the largest number of men" (p. 87). Also, TANU retains its original title of the Tanganyika African National Union and has not now become the Tanzanian African National Union (p. 110). Unfortunately, too, the book contains an unusually large number of typographical errors.

W. TORDOFF

Survey of Commonwealth Affairs - "Problems of Expansion and Attrition 1953-1969" by J. D. B. MILLER; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 550; £11.00.

Some achieve dates: some have datelines thrust upon them. The time-phase, ranging from an end of Empire Coronation to the eve of a singularly unpropitious Commonwealth Heads of Government conference, perhaps explains the decision of his publishers to encase Professor Miller's new book in the purple hue of half-mourning – thereby both emphasising the author's problems and symbolising the depressant views of Commonwealth long since formed by the Chatham House stable, in whose colours this distinguished Australian scholar rides. Compared with Hancock, who won at a relative canter and Mansergh, whose breadth of vision edged him in adversity past the post, Dr. Miller has faced a Grand International, with fences unfairly raised. He could, in short, barely have been offered a less felicitious ride. 1953, with the close of the sub-continental honeymoon, was one obstacle. 1969, symbolising the height of African opposition to British policies: the decline in intra-Commonwealth trade; suspicions over Rhodesia; arms for South Africa and United Kingdom involvement in Europe, made up a quintuple Becher's Brook. Throughout these sixteen brief years the mood was in truth "ingrat". It is all the more to the author's credit that he can still find some meaning in a Commonwealth rent by internal feuds, divided by conflicting regional and international pulls and threatened with that attrition through over-expansion of membership to which he continually refers.

Four major problems stand out from this survey: the canker of Indo-Pakistan relationships: the Rhodesian issue: Britain and Europe – and hence changing trade patterns within the Commonwealth; and the future shape, size and viability of the Commonwealth itself. On the first three issues, which (*pace* Mozambique in the second case) are now moving into history, the author can barely be faulted. Indeed, his analysis of the Kashmir-Rann of Kutch and other drearily-related problems cannot be faulted at all (save for the unhappy misprint on page 48 which places the Rann in the East rather than the West of the sub-continent). Likewise the Rhodesian analysis is wholly admirable; while the chapters on the E.E.C. and Commonwealth trade links bring home latter-day truths which could well be read, re-read and thoroughly digested by the City of London's more notorious ostriches.

The weakness of the survey is due more to the restrictions imposed on him than to the author himself. The Commonwealth remains a child of change or – as he prefers to put it – a concert of convenience. The problem is that that "convenience" continuously shifts its ground. What seemed lost yesterday in political terms is functionally retrieved the morrow. Thus the book provides rich, critical pickings. Any student of modern Commonwealth history can spot omissions or guarded truths. Little is said here for instance of the predominantly Commonwealth role in the Congo peace-keeping operation and far too little of pan-Commonwealth efforts in Korea, Cyprus or Gibraltar. Scant attention is paid to Commonwealth-wide or purely British studies of the constitutional evolution and eventual acceptable size of a late twentieth-century Commonwealth membership. Even more

irritating to those working within the mysterious machine are the post-1969 chapters, conclusions and after-thoughts, which themselves go far to correct an originally depressing tale. Save for the fact that the author has found it possible to drive a coach and horses through the (at least British) 30-year official secrecy rule with a series of fascinating though anonymous footnotes, such apparently carping criticisms could well have been laid aside. But given the private sources available Professor Miller could surely have paid greater tribute to the myriad forms of functional co-operation which make the Commonwealth what it is today. And could perhaps on p. 513 have given the Royal Commonwealth Society more credit than he does for its laudable efforts to march with the times.

However, within his imposed datelines, the author has produced a robust Antipodean curate's egg. The marshalling of facts and their analysis are virtually without fault. But in venturing beyond his time-scale Dr. Miller has taken a calculated risk. Few might at this point in time agree with his concluding thought that "it would be a reasonable and humane irony if the Commonwealth and *la Francophonie* (in future) existed side by side as primarily cultural bodies flourishing on what had been taught in the schools of Empire". More would salute his dictum that "The Commonwealth of the 1970s would be one in which bodies such as the Secretariat and the Foundation strove to re-inforce the non-political relations which drew Commonwealth members together". That said, Dr. Miller's survey is a pungent and thought-provoking contribution to the Hancock/Mansergh series.

J.C.

Modernization in South-East Asia, edited by HANS-DIETER EVERS; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 249; £7.25.

This book has the merit of being home-grown in the region to which it refers. The papers it contains were originally presented at a conference held in the Institute of South-East Asian Studies at Singapore and most of the contributors are, or have been, members of Asian institutes of higher learning. They represent several disciplines including anthropology, economics, history, political science and sociology.

The essays are grouped into four sections, corresponding to four major areas in which modernisation is said to take place: that is, in the context of political, economic and social development, and in the sphere of religion and ideology. Some of the contributions are theoretical essays ranging fairly widely in their geographical reference. The remainder are case studies relating mainly to Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Professor Hans-Dieter Evers begins the brief editorial Introduction by saying that the papers are written in a critical spirit of doubt about previous studies of modernisation. However, the views which are attacked have already received some rough handling in recent years and the extent to which the book fulfils its stated intention "to break new ground and provide new approaches to an increasingly important problem" is questionable. Although there is much good sense in some of the papers there is disappointingly little evidence that the sharing of disciplinary perspective suggested new and more fruitful ways of looking at social change (or that

part of it which can properly be called "modernisation") in South-East Asia. In so complex a region, the inter-disciplinary approach would perhaps have been more fruitful had the focus for discussion been narrower than the one which gave rise to this boldly-titled book.

Predictably, the "convergence theory" of development finds little support from these writers: they take the position, now widely accepted, that it is erroneous to expect the experience of Third World countries to follow at all closely the path of those Western countries where modern economic growth first began. The way in which traditional social and political systems, historical exigencies, and the structure of the international setting, shape the process of development is a basic theme in many of the papers of which only a few can be mentioned. S. N. Eisenstadt discusses the influence of traditional and colonial political systems on modern structures and his paper is followed by two case studies by M. A. Nawawi and R. E. Agpalo of political development in Indonesia and the Philippines. R. P. Dore contrasts the constraints experienced by Britain as an "early developer" and Japan as a "late starter". Taking occupational selection as one of his examples, he shows how the constraints operating in the two situations were sufficiently different for the character of the development process to be greatly altered. In the section on religion and ideology, W. R. Roff provides a brief but interesting account of the bureaucratisation of Islamic institutions in Kelantan (in Malaysia) and stresses the need to consider institutional development and continuity, as well as the more dramatic changes, in the analysis of modernisation.

W. F. Wertheim is concerned less with modernisation than with reasons for the lack of it. Asking "Resistance to Change – from Whom?" he answers, in effect, "from those with an interest in maintaining the existing position". Constraints imposed by the relationship between rich and poor countries, and, internally, by the class structure, are certainly highly relevant, but not, surely, to the exclusion of other factors as Wertheim would seem to imply.

The most provocative remark in the book is perhaps that of Goh Keng Swee: "It is better to leave the peasant and his quaint ways to the anthropologist." Even in its proper context, which it is not possible to give here, this must surely arouse comment in a region where 80 per cent of the population live in rural areas.

M. T. SPENS

Peasant Politics, by GEOFF LAMB; *Julian Friedmann Publishers Ltd., Lewes, Sussex;* pp. 152; £3.50.

This short book gives a fascinating in depth account of four aspects of local politics in the Muranga District of Kenya with particular emphasis on the years 1966-1967. The author collected much of the information upon which the book is based during a seven month visit to Muranga in 1967, when he not only spoke personally to most of the principal characters involved, but no doubt witnessed many of the events which he has recorded. The four aspects of political conflict studied were: the political leadership struggle between Bildad Kaggia, the champion of the poor, landless ex-detainees, and Dr. Kiano, together with his ally Taddeo Mwaura, who represented the national Kikuyu leadership as well as "the rich, the powerful and the loyal"

element in the community; secondly, the role of the Community Development Officer; thirdly the attempt by the Government to control the expansion of coffee planting in 1967; and fourthly, the outcome of the Government's efforts to regulate the activities of the primary coffee co-operative societies. From a wealth of circumstantial detail and evidence, which is clearly and graphically presented, the picture that emerges is the triumph, sometimes partial, of the rural leadership of the Kiano/Mwaura alliance.

The book is, however, much more than a descriptive and, I believe, perceptive and accurate account of the complexities and intricacies of political conflict in one Kikuyu district. The author first sets the stage with two chapters outlining the national political background and assessing the politics of independence, and he concludes by analysing the evidence from his case studies, relating it to the realities of national politics and to prospects for the future. In this last chapter, he summarises the outcome of land consolidation and adjudication in Murang'a, the nature and structure of the conflict between the local leaders and between them and the national leadership, and he demonstrates how the implementation of national planning strategy actually worked out in practice in Murang'a District. In a final section, entitled "Rural Development and Political Change", he analyses the political events of 1969 from the murder of Tom Mboya, through the loyalty oath-taking to the December elections, in a telling sentence, "the Kikuyu leadership was able to externalise discontent by invoking an ethnic rather than a class interest in the continuation of the Kikuyu-dominated élite's political control". His conclusion is that the steady and increasing entrenchment of a capitalist class in the rural areas may lead to tensions which in their turn may threaten the viability of existing social and political arrangements.

For those concerned, in any capacity, with the nitty-gritty of politics and development administration in developing countries, Geoff Lamb has made a most valuable contribution to their store of knowledge and experience. Those without a social scientist's training may find some of the terminology in the Foreword, and in the opening and concluding chapters, a bit daunting, but the ideas expressed and the issues raised in these pages may well become critically important not only in Kenya but also in other developing countries.

J. W. LEACH

The Future Role of Singapore, by DICK WILSON; Published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by *Oxford University Press;* appendices and select bibliography; pp. 112; £1.30.

This book was written during the late 60s early 70s when the author worked for two newspapers in Singapore. After an introduction in which he looks at Singapore's historical context from its founding in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles to the sovereign independent State it is today, the author examines Singapore's future role from three different viewpoints, the political, the strategic and the economic.

Politically, Singapore, the only predominantly Chinese State outside of China and Taiwan with a population a little over two millions, is neighbour to two Malay, and to some extent hostile, nations of over 130 million people,

Malaysia and Indonesia. Attempts in 1963 to become an accepted part of Malaysia ended two years later in failure when Singapore, much against her will, became one of the world's smallest independent States.

Of the two giant nations of the region, Japan, the only country to conquer Singapore in recent times, is still disliked, while China, which does not recognise the independence of Singapore, is feared. The future diplomatic recognition of China by countries of the region is likely to make the situation more difficult for the Singapore Chinese who must eventually decide whether they form a distant part of the Chinese sphere or are to become a new independent breed of cosmopolitan South-east Asians.

Singapore's ambition must be to develop equal relationships with all nations of the region, and to become a more-or-less neutral regional centre of value to all.

Strategically, Singapore's position changed fundamentally with her expulsion from Malaysia in 1965 and the British decision to withdraw her forces from South-east Asia by 1972. Long-term defence plans were drawn up for the development of integrated land, naval and air forces under a unified command, roughly one-third (1972) of Singapore's budget being spent on defence.

A modest defence force sufficient to deter other nations from attacking her, to help maintain internal security and build up national self-confidence is seen as a necessary pre-requisite for both foreign investment in Singapore, and participation in any regional defence agreement which might be arranged in the future.

On the economic front Singapore has suffered a number of setbacks in recent years including confrontation with Indonesia, separation from Malaysia, the withdrawal of British forces and the reduction in and eventual ending of American involvement in Vietnam. In addition the traditional role of Singapore as an entrepot port is diminishing as neighbouring countries gradually build up their own processing marketing and port facilities.

A construction boom was introduced, together with an increasing build-up of manufacturing industry which provides employment for some 150,000 people, more than one-fifth of the working population. Due to her main assets which are seen as efficient and incorrupt government, a high level of education, the wide use of English and a range of tax incentives, Singapore is growing in importance as both a national and regional centre for professional, commercial, industrial and general development purposes.

Increasing development of this nature, as well as the growth of tourism, are to some extent in conflict with the desire of the Government to preserve Singapore society from "corrosive western permissiveness and work-shy attitudes". However, the main danger lies in the possibility of the City-State becoming a haven of prosperity at the expense of the primary-producing Malay region surrounding it. It is in Singapore's self interest to encourage and assist with the most rapid growth possible of the social and economic development of her neighbours.

The author concludes that Singapore is destined to become a commercial and diplomatic base for all the great powers in South-east Asia. Its real role will be as the "eye" of South-east Asia through which all the great powers

can enter into the region, identify the role each wishes to play and keep watch on one another. It could even become eventually the "eye" of all Asia, the principal neutral meeting ground of east and west, China and Europe, South-east Asia and the outside world, modernity and tradition.

G. H. FRANKLIN

Municipal Administration in India, edited by A. AVASTHI; *Lakshmi Narain Agarwal,* 1972; p. 549; Rs. 40.

Studies on urbanisation and urban government offer a challenge as well as an opportunity to social scientists for two main reasons: first, the projected number of human beings involved in the process of urbanisation is staggering and second, they deal with one of the most complex processes in which societies and individuals are caught up. The process of urbanisation is all the more complicated in the developing countries due to the predominance of pre-industrial characteristics. The volume under review was brought out to commemorate the memory of Prof. M. P. Sharma, a distinguished educationalist and a leader in stimulating interest in public administration as an academic discipline in India. Prof. Avasthi deserves credit for organising this venture to pay respects to a *guru* who has influenced three successive generations of students of public administration in India.

Unlike other areas of Indian government and administration, municipal government is no recent upstart, it is nearly a century-old at least in the metropolitan centres. The urban complexes provided the nucleus for industrialisation and a market economy, nourished higher educational establishments and facilitated communication channels with the outside world. They also provided the breeding ground for political leaders of high stature.

Part I of the book contains four papers on general problems of municipal administration. Prof. Mukharjee writes that "neglect and dereliction are writ large on the Indian urban scene". He attributes the inefficient functioning of urban government to the step-motherly treatment of the State and Central Governments and widespread public apathy. He also refers to problems of internal management: "It is true urban governments have not, by and large, shown much aptitude for efficient financial management and control: there is wastage, there are leakages, there is extensive under-assessment (of property tax), several sources of income have not been tapped and some services . . . are extended free to a large number of citizens". Mr. Deva Raj reviews the existing facilities for training civic leaders and identifies the deficiences in this area. His survey demonstrates that the government of India has made an earnest effort to create the infrastructure for personnel development.

Part II consists of sixteen papers covering the pattern of municipal administration in each of the major Indian States. Prof. Ram Reddy's paper on Andhra Pradesh brings out the point of a low correlation between democratistion of urban government and the service outputs. He writes: "On their part the municipalities with their democratic leadership have not done much to better the urban way of life. They continue to be as inefficient and inattentive to the civic needs as before. Even such basic amenities like protected water-

supply, drainage, and roads have not been provided by many municipalities". In his review of urban personnel administration, Prof. Reddy suggests that control over municipal personnel be entrusted to an autonomous agency instead of keeping it with either the State Government or the municipalities. Writing about municipal administration in Assam, Prof. Venkata Rao draws our attention to citizen apathy. The turnout of voters at the civic polls is pitifully low; men of high calibre shun positions in urban government and the municipal committees do a poor job.

Dr. Jha is perhaps a lone dissenter from other contributors to the volume on the issue of municipal autonomy. While it is the contention of other writers that there has been excessive interference in municipal affairs from the respective State Governments, Dr. Jha refutes this by noting the distinction between the legal prescriptions and actual behaviour. He argues:

"In practice, the picture is that there is hardly any effective inspection of the work of municipalities. There is conspicuous absence of effective government control in general. All sorts of malpractices take place in the placing of contracts, execution of works, making of appointments and hundreds of other matters, but they remain undetected and uncorrected. That is, our municipalities enjoy a very wide measure of freedom to make mistakes and get away with them, although in law they have no autonomy worth the name."

Part III is devoted to the pattern of urban government in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Raipur. The omission of Madras, a major metropolitan city and the inclusion of Raipur, a small town, in this section is conspicuous. Dr. Avasthi, in the concluding chapter, echoes the favourite theme of most of his fellow-contributors that dissolution and supersession of municipal bodies has been done whimsically by the State governments. This line of reasoning seems to ignore the political environment in which municipal bodies function. Municipal politics has now become an integral part of State and regional politics. If we consider urban local bodies as some kind of political islands devoid of any links with the larger political system we are making an analytical mistake. It appears that viable political links and structures connecting the State and Local level political activity have emerged. In this political context, the factional alignments of the ruling group in a particular urban authority with the ruling party élite at the State or regional level, tend to be crucial. Such alignments constitute a key factor in the decisional outcome on dissolution/supersession or continuation of the local regime in power. Municipal bodies are expendable only when it suits the interests of the ruling faction/party at the State level.

Most of the writing in the present volume suffers from an over-emphasis on historical-legal description and the neglect of some of the key relationships with the environment. Very limited attention has been paid to the interaction of the urban local political system with the larger political system or the social structure of the cities under examination. While conceding the fact that local self-government is alien to the Indian soil, the authors ignore continuities of traditional behaviour patterns and the latter's significance to the functioning of urban government. Despite these shortcomings the volume fills a gap in the literature on urban government by providing a nation-wide coverage of municipal administration. The editor and the

contributors have addressed themselves to the key theme of political science: "How to reconcile self-government with good government". In focusing their attention on the growing imbalance between the civic needs and the actual performance of the urban local bodies in India they have fulfilled their professional obligation.

C. V. RAGHAVULU

ODI Review 1 - 1974, edited by EDITH HODGKINSON; *Overseas Development Institute, London;* with Tables and Statistics; pp. 109; £2.20.

This is a lively new-style ODI review with an introduction and six chapters each by different ODI staff members/researchers and one Oxonian. In the older tradition of ODI as a major advocate of increased aid to the Third World, this volume is packed with facts, figures, tables, statistics. Robert Wood contrasts the vast surpluses beyond their capacity to spend at home, now accruing in OPEC countries, with the grim poverty of India now all the poorer from the burden of increased oil prices: he points to the size of India's population and her poverty and her struggle within a democratic framework to achieve development – a special case, here, he urges for greater donor assistance – one sphere recommended is investment in Indian coal so as to reduce dependence on petroleum.

David Jones provides a short chapter on developments in British aid. He sees the restoration of a separate ODM as likely to mean "less attention to foreign policy considerations in its consideration of economic development" – one hopes that the omission of the words "and social" after "economic" was no more than a careless oversight.

A particularly interesting chapter comes from Anthony Bottrall who writes on "The Macnamara Strategy" with its major objective of social justice – with the immediate priority on social reform and the relief of poverty, and with population as the most important single issue in the long term. Macnamara's notable address to the IBRD Board in Nairobi in September 1973 is viewed as presenting a revised line of thought for Bank and donor action, and furthering as it does some of the main recommendations of the ILO Mission to Kenya report, it should add impetus to implementation. As Bottrall points out a major problem is how to persuade recipient nations to support the new policies – how does one approach those countries where "political will" is conspicuously lacking? Can Macnamara's proposal "for a new socially-oriented measure of economic performance to replace or supplement GNP" become a recognised yardstick for donors to use? It must surely be worth trying.

Finally, Guy Hunter trails a controversial coat in the field of politics before he comes down to practicalities in his concluding two and a half pages, pointing to the thousands of beneficient actions going on all over the Third World which owe their impetus both to aid and to local governments of diverse political complexions.

ODI is, of course, closely concerned with the Reading University/ODI programme for integrated rural development and this Review understandably reflects the role of front runner which the Institute has taken up in its advocacy of aid for the poorest of the Third World and priority for rural areas.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

The Dying Lion, Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia, by PATRICK GILKES; *Julian Friedmann,* London; maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index; pp. 307; £4.50.

The author spent six years teaching in Ethiopia, then undertook full-time research for two years before he was deported. The objective of his book is to analyse the causes of the 1974 crisis and to identify Ethiopian power groupings. The book is, of course, well-timed and topical. But really not a lot of analysis is needed as to the causes of Emperor Haile Selassie's downfall. A creaking, corrupt feudal system with an inefficient bureaucracy; a cancer in the body politic in Eritrea; an Army and Air Force comparatively well equipped and well capable of a *coup* at any time; an aging Emperor whose modest reforms were few and slow and out-of-date; modernisation in Addis Ababa but the clock stopped still in the hinterland – wealth and extreme poverty side by side; a degree of personalised imperial rule alongside University students with modern education. The analysis should not be of why the crisis arose but how it was staved off for so long – until famine finally heralded the end, a famine about which news was disgracefully suppressed and over which action was taken all too late, all too slowly and all too inadequately. Sad though it is that the aged and long-respected Emperor could not end his days still Head of OAU's Headquarters State, surprising it is that he held on for so long.

Patrick Gilkes provides a knowledgeable account of events that culminated in the 1974 mutinies. It is too soon to forecast the likely course of future events and, sensibly, he does not attempt to do so. Meantime, for general readers who want to learn the story of Ethiopia from the Emperor's return during World War II up to the year of his downfall, this is a book that can be commended.

Selected Economic Essays, by SIR ARNOLD PLANT; *Routledge and Kegan Paul;* pp. 248; £5.25.

The Institute of Economic Affairs has assembled this selection of lectures, papers and other published material by Sir Arnold Plant which has appeared during the past 45 years.

In scholarly, elegant prose, even these short extracts from his works show the remarkably wide variety of Sir Arnold's intellectual interests. He notes the value of immigrants to the country of their adoption, tells how the original leader of Dutch settlers to the Cape appreciated how much could be achieved if his government had proceeded with his suggestion for the immigration of free Chinese colonists. Nearly 50 years ago his scorn of Southern African policies of apartheid must have stung such "poor white trash" as may have read his contributions to the short-lived Durban Journal, *Voorslag.* In the economic crises of 1974 it is salutary to read his 1956 Fawley lecture entitled "the substance and the shadow – reflections on prosperity". He wrote then that we (in Britain) were enjoying a precarious prosperity while many lived near the poverty line in depressed (renamed development) areas. He drew attention to the uncongenial surroundings in which mining work has to be performed. He points an accusing finger at the failure of governments since World War II to maintain a reasonable measure of stability in the purchasing power of the pound sterling. He believes the maintenance of a reliable £ sterling as requiring as much attention as enforcing a standard pound weight. He criticises the profits tax as inequitable as between different businesses and between individual taxpayers. He regards specialisation as the normal condition for sustained and profitable growth, and standardisation as worth the risks of changing demand. It seems as if governments these past 20 years might have done better had they acted on some of Sir Arnold's wise advice.

The Government of Federal Capitals, edited by DONALD C. ROWAT; *University of Toronto Press;* bibliography; pp. 377; $15.00.

Professor Rowat is to be congratulated on assembling within the covers of a single volume, seventeen studies of City Government in the Federal capitals of 17 countries – 6 in Europe (including Moscow), 4 in Latin America and 2 in North America, 2 in West Africa, and 3 in Asia. In a concluding, summarising chapter, the editor finds one problem common to all Federal capitals – what degree of autonomy should be granted to the capital city? All Federal Governments must decide also whether or not the capital needs to lie within a federal district under exclusively central government controls: yet in Pakistan and Malaysia it has proved possible to devise arrangements under the constitution which have the effect of maintaining central control without need of a federal district. Another common problem faced by all these cities has been the population explosion spilling people beyond the capital bounds into neighbouring areas outside central control.

Whether or not a capital lies in a federal district "the predominant legal, financial and political power of the central government tends to tip the balance between local and central interests strongly in favour of central government". As Professor Rowat points out, since central government would always possess overriding powers, it is desirable "in the interests of enhancing democratic government that the constitution should provide a federal district with the highest degree of self government consistent with protecting the national interest in the federal capital". He advocates a two-tier system of locally-elected government – at district level with an essentially strong "central" voice and with the second tier providing rural and urban local government with broadly-elected popular participation.

Newly-built capitals such as Brasilia and Canberra had no local population when planned and (not surprisingly) no measure of local self government was given to the first residents – indeed when Federal governments have built a new capital they have not usually provided any local elected form of government – Washington was an exception. Few will disagree with Professor Rowat in his advocacy of a local say in local affairs even in a federal capital.

Development and the Debt Trap, by ANDRZEJ KRASSOWSKI; *Croom Helm London/Overseas Institute;* tables and index; pp. 166; £5.50.

"At the time of Nkrumah's downfall in 1966, Ghana was unable to meet its foreign debt commitments, the economy was on a downward slide." Krassowski shows that "economic discontent of the masses and the political agitation of the intelligentsia" had brought Nkruma to power at a time of reaction against the caution of Colonial rule. The NLC agreed to honour the pre-coup debts though hoping for easier terms of repayment. Under Dr. Busia's Government the latter's attitude hardened and when after his fall, as rescheduled debt payments increased and a sharp rise was due in 1972, early that year the present government decided to repudiate a part of the overall indebtedness. The principal lesson to be learnt is the need to avoid credit contracts.

The author is understandably puzzled how the guaranteeing agencies in Nkrumah's time failed so badly to appreciate Ghana's then deteriorating economic position. He urges common action by OECD countries to avoid good aid money being wasted in rescue operations on behalf of countries lacking self-restraint and prudence.

Cento Workshop on Airport Management, Tehran, October 1973.
Cento Conference of University Rectors on the role of the University in Economic Development; Tehran, January 1974.
Both publications of *CENTO, Ankara, Turkey.*

The Workshop report indicates that the whole emphasis of the proceedings was concentrated on the practical facets of airport management – well illustrated by John T. Stephan in his "Summation" paper in which he suggests that "the successful airport executive will be less and less the community's aviation symbol, and more and more the community's expert on property management" with primary responsibility not to fly or "to speak authoritatively on the technical aspects of aviation; but to manage a substantial community investment . . . safely, economically and efficiently".

At the Rector's Seminar, Dr. Hannah, formerly director of US AID, presented the Keynote paper in which he emphasised that every Faculty had a role to play in nation building, stressed the grave situation disclosed by the Third World Food Survey – a degree of ill-health and malnutrition caused not by lack of knowledge within Universities but "largely from failure to diffuse this knowledge throughout the population" so as to improve hygiene, food processing, etc.

Dr. Nahavandi of Tehran favoured more specialisation; Professor Ordemir of Turkey and Dr. Israr-ui-Hag of Pakistan drew attention to the exchange of students within the Cento group and Professor Hawkridge of Britain explained how the Open University operated, its ability to help Third World countries and the problems involved were a developing country to seek to establish a similar University of its own.

The Administration of Change in Africa, edited by E. PHILIP MORGAN; *Martin Robertson, London;* index; pp. 420; £8.80.

A Symposium on development administration in Africa was held at Syracuse University in 1970. This volume is the outcome and represents much of the thinking developed at Syracuse during a ten-year programme of African studies.

A varied and interesting set of papers, some macro – some micro-oriented, include among the latter a brief description of how African cultivators came into their own as Virginia tobacco growers at Urambo in Tanzania, though one misses a mention of their first successful large farmer – if memory serves one right his name was Lazaro.

Inter alios, G. U. Orewa writes with his usual clarity on administrative constraints, and Robert A. Miller on rural development in Malawi. Some of the authors are here who created the now widely-accepted myth that there *was* a law and order administration and now (*post* independence) there *is* development administration instead, but in this volume at any rate the specially-invented language of Fred Riggs is avoided. For a book produced by a photostat method, £8.80 is rather a steep price.

Research Report No. 21, Regional Economic Planning in Cameroon, by WILFRID A. NDONGKO;

Research Report No. 22, An Episode of Colonial History: the German Press in Tanzania, 1901-1914, by IDA PIPPING – VAN HULTON;

Research Report No. 23, Swedish Investments in South Africa, by AKE MAGNUSSEN;

Research No. 24, The Ethnic Composition of Leading Kenyan Government Positions, by JOHN R. NELLIS;

Published by the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.*

These brief monographs, the latest in the Institute's publications, cover a varied field and are equally varied in the value of their research content.

Wilfrid Ndongko's examination of development planning in the Cameroon Republic is really of a preliminary nature. As he points out, there is insufficient data available on which to judge the success of the "planned liberalism" policy.

Report No 22 lacks scholarship and is over-filled with the author's subjective comments. Little of interest emerges.

Ake Magnussen provides the most detailed information and this clearly results from carefully-undertaken research. It is, indeed, a condensed version of the author's book on South African/Swedish economic relations. He points out that "both Swedish and international trade union movements seek to implement the strategy of isolation at the same time as they intend to increase their support for non-White union organisations in South Africa". Swedish companies with interests/activities in the Union are to be put under pressure *inter alia* to recognise African trade unions with the implied right to negotiate agreements with the company; to promote union educational work, etc.; to provide professional training so as to improve African skills and thereby entitlement to jobs in better-paying categories; to increase wages and social benefits; to neutralise apartheid (eg no separate toilet, canteens, workshops

depts.). The author sees this new strategy as commendably down-to-earth, while appreciating "that it is based on an optimistic judgment of what may possibly be achieved".

In Report No 24, John Nellis produces some interesting tables which show the increasing Kikuyu hold over ministerial and senior civil service posts – from 33 per cent in 1969 to 41 per cent in 1972. Table IV details the ethnic composition of each Kenya province. By historical chance Nairobi in Kikuyuland became a capital city. Centrally placed, at the hub of Kenyan affairs, it was inevitable that an able, hard-working, volatile people like the Kikuyu should predominate in national affairs after independence; however dangerous such an imbalance may be, probably of equal significance as the imbalance of power-posts held within sub-divisions of the Kikuyu themselves – this perhaps might be the subject of a future research paper.

Malawi Foreign Policy and Development, by CAROLYN MCMASTER; *Julian Friedmann, London,* 1974; appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 246; £4.25.

There is no more controversial figure on the African political stage than Dr. Banda of Malawi, but none can doubt his independent-mindedness or his courage, nor his strong leadership of his country. His place in history, and one which would surely please him, will probably be as the leader most responsible for the early break-up of the Central African Federation. Fifty pages of notes (all ill-placed at the end of the book) establish that Miss McMaster was writing a thesis.

As with most of her neighbours, the story of post-independence Malawi is one of personalised rule, with government far more stable and secure and economically progressive, than anyone imagined when Dr. Banda, soon after independence in 1964, dismissed his radical cabinet colleagues – Chiume, Chirwa, Chipembere, Chisiza, and took the direction of the affairs of state firmly into his own hands.

Miss McMaster discusses Malawi's land-locked problems, necessitating at least a *modus vivendi* with Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia, and her remarkble links with South Africa which led to an African Head of State receiving full honours on his visit to the South which must surely have given white South Africans a deep, salutary and possibly lasting shock.

A final chapter provides the author's conclusions – a fair and balanced appraisal of Malawi's position prior to the recent *coup d'etat* in Portugal – how this will affect Malawi/Mozambique relations is now a matter of very great interest.

Party and Locality in Northern Uganda, 1945-1962, by CHERRY GERTZEL; *University of London, The Athlone Press,* 1974; Notes and Index; pp. 100; £1.25.

Professor Gertzel's study of the Acholi and Lango districts of Northern Uganda, covers the period between the end of World War II and the achievement of independence in October 1962. She is concerned with the growth of political parties and the development of African nationalism.

As the author points out in a postscript to her Preface, dramatic changes followed the military *coup* in January 1971 and General Amin's regime is very different from that of lively local party politics with which this monograph deals.

A New System of Slavery: the Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920, by HUGH TINKER; published for the Institute of Race Relations by *Oxford University Press;* pp. 432; index; photos; £5.75.

This work, described by the publishers as the first comprehensive historical survey of a hitherto neglected and only partially-known migration, describes how, more than eighty years after slavery officially ended in British territories, Indians, many of whom simply wanted to escape from the hopeless conditions in which they already existed, were induced, coerced or press-ganged into working as bond servants on tea, coffee, rubber and sugar plantations in countries such as Mauritius, Ceylon, Guyana, Malaya and Fiji.

The system of indentured bondage was introduced as a means of controlling imported labour when the slave trade and then slavery were abolished. To many, the new form of bondage seemed akin to slavery. Able in theory to buy themselves out of serfdom, in practice few could ever do so; their masters not only made the laws that held them in bondage, but altered, or ignored those laws if they were seen to contain loopholes.

Professor Tinker intends to follow up this book with others dealing with the social and political status of Indians throughout the British Empire and Commonwealth from 1920 to the present day. Together, they will provide an indispensable and – to judge by the volume under review – intensely-readable account of the lives of "exported" Indian labourers about whom very little is usually told in standard history books.

The Penguin World Atlas; *Penguin Books, London,* 1974; introduction, maps, gazetteer; pp. 253; £1.50.

This admirable small atlas has been well described as "a mini-miracle of map production". It is certainly a remarkable bargain at £1.50. One hundred and twenty-eight clear, excellently-coloured maps are divided into sections for the oceans, the physical environment, topography, and (in World maps) nutrition, iron ore/steel, energy, population and surface communications. For the managing director and for his secretary, for the lecturer/teacher and for his students/pupils, for the householder and his family this is the desk atlas *par excellence.* The publishers and their printers/cartographers are to be very highly commended.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1974/1975, edited by JOHN PAXTON; *Macmillan, London;* tables, maps, index; pp. 1556; £4.95.

This new and excellently-produced annual edition provides as new features data on world oil production together with a diagrammatic map of oil resources and consumption, and also a map showing new regions of Scottish and North Sea oil. Particulars about Zanzibar (eg under Justice) have not yet been brought up to date.

Caught in the Act: Children, Society and the Law, by MARCEL BERLINS and GEOFFREY WANSELL; *Penguin Books, London;* pp. 123; £0.40.

As the authors point out, "children have always got into trouble". In England, the Industrial Revolution produced a new urban poor and a society in which the State, rather than the parent, began to punish young offenders, often with extreme harshness. With parental and school discipline relaxed, the Courts have been burdened with the consequences of steadily-increasing juvenile delinquency itself stimulated rather than discouraged by the relatively affluent society of today.

The authors write with compassion and understanding. They suggest practical not idealistic solutions. They recommend a two-tier system in the Courts which would make a formal separation between two categories of children – the naughty (on whom the Courts have spent much too much time) and the really difficult persistent offender (to whom far too little attention has been paid). For the latter they propose a special panel of experienced magistrates with proven specialised knowledge – with greater powers and more informality, including the power in exceptional cases to send a child to an institution themselves without relying on a local authority to make the decision. A pre-requisite to the satisfactory implementation of such a system would be the provision of secure institutions where adequate care and treatment could be given. The biggest problem foreseen is to find a sufficient number of high-quality residential staff.

At the same time the authors urge that children should only be prosecuted when there is no other way of dealing with them. With fewer children coming before them, "Magistrates should have more time to look into the background and cases of the individual child offender".

There is a lesson here for many developing countries which have sought to import Western procedures for dealing with children in the belief that this was the enlightened

course to follow – procedures, alas, which are now shown to be outdated and inadequate. The need is for better and more intensified care, for treatment not punishment and for the majority who are naughty to be separated from the comparatively few who are really difficult or intractable. Of importance, too, is that the system advocated in this wise small book is likely to cost the State no more than the present methods of dealing with juvenile crime.

The Poor Law Report of 1834, edited by S. G. and E. O. A. CHECKLAND; *Penguin Classics;* introduction, bibliography, index; pp. 518; £1.00.

Barbados is popularly supposed to be the most "English" of the former West Indian colonies. Part of the reason for this could be that the roots of the British system of local government were transplanted there by British settlers as early as the first half of the 17th century, and with no indigenous social system to compete with it, the roots took hold, and the system operating in England operated in Barbados, too, remaining practically unchanged until the second half of this century.

The Poor Law Report of 1834, therefore, and the Amendment Act that followed from it, had ramifications beyond the shores of Britain, and must have affected thinking in many of the countries that received British settlers. If only for that reason, it is far from being mere hyperbole to describe the Poor Law Report, as the Introduction to this volume does, as "one of the classic documents of Western social history".

The book is mercifully free from those Tables of Figures which are supposed to illustrate, but which so often obscure the situations they are attached to. On the other hand, the case histories with which it is literally crammed, demonstrate that the Poor Laws in force before 1834, far from being wholly oppressive, operated in the cases of what we now call, "One Parent Families" at least, rather more favourably than they do today – provided, that was, that the mother had not contracted a lawful marriage with the father of any of her children!

The Lawbreakers, by RAY JENKINS; *Penguin Books,* 1974; illustrated; pp. 62; £0.30.

Ray Jenkins takes a quick, pertinent and often sharply-critical look at the way justice is administered in Britain. Lawbreakers, Police and the Courts are all examined in staccato rapid-fire style. Relevant press cuttings and cartoons enliven this lightly-written but seriously-intended pamphlet which should be salutary reading for those who have pre-conceived notions but little real knowledge of offenders, offences and the law and order authorities. A stimulating booklet for the students for whom it is primarily intended.

A History of Soviet Russia, Vol. 1: Foundations of a Planned Economy 1926–1929, by E. H. CARR and R. W. DAVIES; *Penguin Books,* 1974: index; pp. 1083; £2.50 (paperback).

This is the first volume of the final instalment of the authors' *magnum opus* on the history of Soviet Russia. In the words of the *Times Literary Supplement,* "no other work on this subject comparable in scope and scale exists in English or in any other language including the Russian".

Printed in England for HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
by Adams & Sons (Printers) Ltd., East Street, Hereford.
Dd 289065 K16 3/75

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ADMINISTRATION

(A Quarterly Review of the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria)

OCTOBER 1974: VOLUME IX - NO. 1

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ISBN O 11 723080 4